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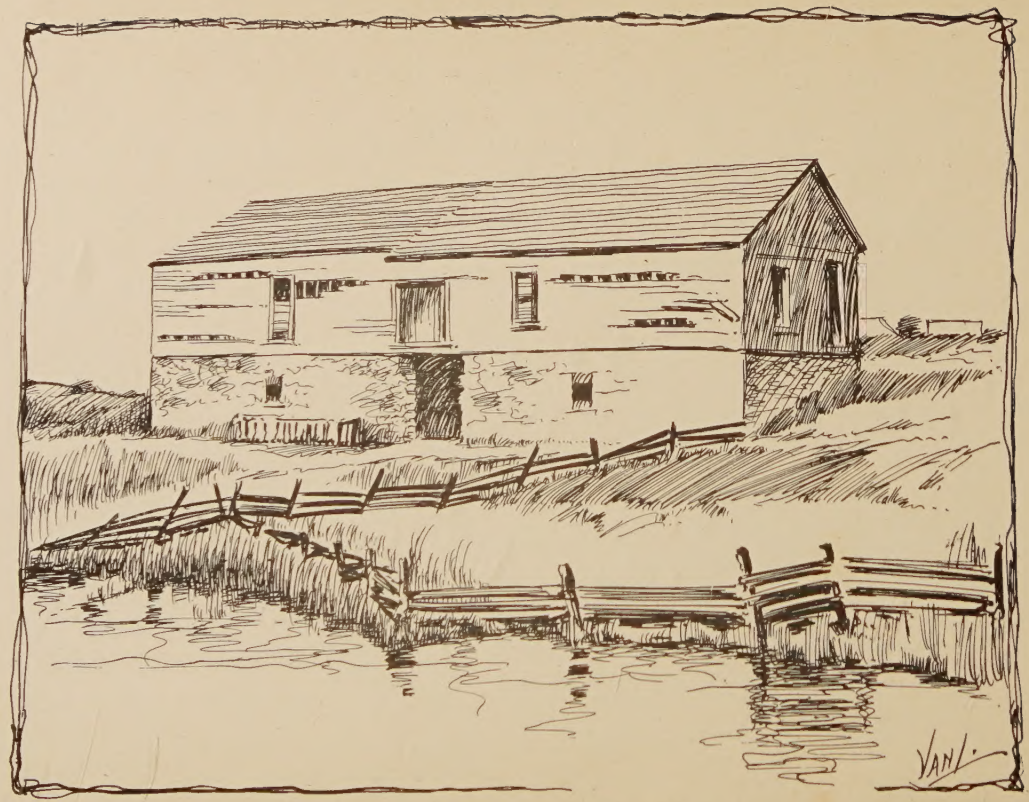

ALL THAT REMAINS OF FORT WINNEBAGO.

The old commissary building. Drawn by A. J. Van Lishout, from a photograph taken in 1897.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF WISCONSIN

EDITED AND ANNOTATED
BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES
Secretary and Superintendent of the Society

VOL. XIV

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PREFACE.

Although beyond the borders of our commonwealth, Mackinac is a focal point in the history of Wisconsin. Commanding the approaches to Lakes Superior and Michigan, it necessarily was, during the French and English domination, and the early years of American possession,— the period of the fur trade,— the political and military center of this region. The Editor has, in "The Story of Mackinac," sought to review the salient points in the picturesque career of that famous frontier stronghold, and to correct, it may be, some popular misconceptions thereof. In her "Reminiscences of Early Days on Mackinac Island," the late Mrs. Baird discourses, most charmingly, of men, women, and manners on the "beauteous isle," during her girlhood there — the second and third decades of the present century. The lively description of her bateau trip from Green Bay to Mackinac, in 1825, is a fresh and welcome contribution to the romantic side of Wisconsin history.

Military life in Territorial Wisconsin must have possessed a certain charm to all who participated in it. Mrs. Kinzie, in *Wau-bun*, and Mrs. Van Cleve, in *Three Score Years and Ten*, have given us, in sprightly manner, vivid pictures of garrison life at the early Wisconsin forts, which our historians are fond of reproducing. We are glad to be able, in this volume, to furnish new material in that field. In his "History of Fort Winnebago," A. J. Turner presents the result of a special study of the fortunes of this old-time wilderness post, and has marshalled before us the many notable men and women who are connected with its story. The "Fort Winnebago Orderly Book, 1834–36," follows as an illustrative document, serving to strengthen

the picture. A. A. Jackson, in his "Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War," for the first time fully sets forth the facts concerning Lincoln's itinerary during that campaign, and incidentally — on the authority of Lincoln himself — establishes the actual route of Atkinson's army, in ascending the Rock River, in Wisconsin. "An English Officer's Description of Wisconsin in 1837," is by the well-known writer, Capt. Frederick Marryat; with practised pen, he wrote one of the best contemporary descriptions of early travel along the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, and incidentally of life at the three military posts, which has come down to us.

Dr. James D. Butler has synopsized, in his "Father Samuel Mazzuchelli," the rare book (in Italian) of frontier travel by this vigorous Catholic missionary. Mazzuchelli, although a prominent character in educational and religious work in early Wisconsin, appears, through curious oversight, to have thus far received but slight attention from our local historians; it is with great pleasure, therefore, that we are enabled now to present the principal facts in his career, and to reinforce them with documentary evidence. These "Documents Relating to the Catholic Church in Green Bay, and the Mission at Little Chute, 1825–40," abound in human interest; not only do they reveal to us something of the manner and quality of Mazzuchelli's work as an organizer, but they throw light on the Van den Broek mission at Little Chute, and give interesting glimpses of life and activities in general, among the Catholic population of Green Bay.

The "History of Early Railroad Legislation in Wisconsin" (1836-53), by Dr. B. H. Meyer, is a valuable chapter in the economic history of the State, and deserves our careful attention.

The study of the numerous foreign groups implanted in Wisconsin is one to which the Society has given much attention. In the present volume, are contained three fresh contributions to this study. Louis Albert Copeland's "Cornish in Southwest Wisconsin" treats of a sturdy people

who have hitherto had small consideration paid them. Harry K. White tells us of an isolated and interesting group, in his "Icelanders on Washington Island." Dr. Kate Everest Levi, whose paper on "How Wisconsin came by its Large German Element," in Volume XII of our series, awakened widespread attention, continues the subject in this volume, in her "Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin;" herein, she shows from what districts in Germany our immigrants came, the causes which led to their leaving the Fatherland, and, so far as possible, the reasons which induced them to settle in the particular localities in our State which they chose for their new homes.

Among the first of the several Protestant denominations to seek Wisconsin as a mission field, were the Episcopalians. Their movement began with the sending of the Rev. Norman Nash to Green Bay in the summer of 1825, and the organization by him of Christ Church parish, in April, 1826. Then followed the establishment of an Indian mission school at Green Bay, in 1827, under the superintendence of the Rev. Richard Fish Cadle; and later, the organization of a mission at Duck Creek. The Cadle mission suffered many reverses, and was finally suspended. In a series of unusually interesting documents, the inner history of these several frontier enterprises by the Episcopal church, at the mouth of Fox River, is published for the first time, in the present volume. First, is given the "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834," by Dr. Jackson Kemper. In that year, a twelvemonth before he was consecrated the first missionary bishop of his church to the Northwest, Kemper (then rector at Norwalk, Conn.) was sent to Green Bay in company with Dr. James Milnor, of the Church Missionary Society, to investigate and report upon the Cadle mission. On his way up the lakes, and while at Green Bay, the diarist met many interesting people, and saw and heard much; the result is one of the most valuable journals of the period, thus far published in these *Collections*. Strong light is of course thrown on the conduct of the mission, and the pic-

tures of life at Green Bay during this formative period are graphic. Supplementary to Dr. Kemper's journal, we give "Documents Relating to the Episcopal Church and Mission in Green Bay, 1825–41;" these cover a wide scope of years and interest — beginning with the letter of introduction which Nash brought to Green Bay (1825), and closing with Superintendent Davis's pathetic review (1841) of the reasons for the failure of the Cadle mission to the Wisconsin Indians. These reasons are amply explained by the intervening documents.

The volume closes with Gen. Henry Harnden's account of "The First Wisconsin Cavalry at the Capture of Jefferson Davis." General Harnden was the leader of the expedition (May, 1865), and tells its story with soldierly brevity and directness. The tale of the Fourth Michigan cavalry has been related elsewhere; but this is the first time that the Wisconsin participants in the capture have found their historian.

R. G. T.

May 28, 1898.

THE STORY OF MACKINAC.[1]

BY THE EDITOR.

For two and a quarter centuries Mackinac has played no inconsiderable part on the stage of American history. Early recognized as a vantage-point, commanding the commerce of the two uppermost lakes of the great chain, — Michigan and Superior, — red men and white men have struggled for its mastery, tribe against tribe, nation

[1] Originally prepared as an address before the American Library Association, at its meeting on Mackinac Island, September 8, 1896, and in that form published in *The Library Journal*, Dec., 1896. As given in the present volume, it has been somewhat modified, to suit the different conditions of publication. In the preparation of the paper, I have consulted, among others, the following authorities:

The Jesuit Relations.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

Irving's *Astoria*.

Parkman's *Works*.

Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1889).

Shea's *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1855).

Bailey's *Mackinac, formerly Michilimackinac* (Lansing, Mich., 1896).

Cook's *Mackinaw in History* (Lansing, 1895).

Cook's *Drummond Island* (Lansing, 1896).

Hubbard's *Memorials of a Half Century* (N. Y., 1887).

Kelton's *Annals of Fort Mackinac* (issued annually).

Littlejohn's *Legends of Michigan and the Old North West* (Allegan, Mich., 1875).

Roberts's *City of the Straits* (Detroit, 1884).

Strickland's *Old Mackinaw* (Phila., 1860).

Van Fleet's *Old and New Mackinac* (Phila., and Ann Arbor, Mich., 1869–70).

Whitcomb's *Lake Tour to Picturesque Mackinac* (Detroit, 1884).

Williams's *Early Mackinac* (St. Louis, 1897).

against nation. The *fleur-de-lis*, the union jack, and the stars and stripes, have here each in their turn been symbols of conqueror and conquered; councils have been held here, and treaties signed, which settled the political ownership of fertile regions as wide as all Europe; and, when at last armed hostilities ceased through the final surrender to the Republic, when the tomahawk was buried and the war-post painted white, a new warfare opened at Mackinac — the commercial war of the great fur-trade companies, whose rival banners contested the sway of lands stretching from Athabasca to the Platte, from the Columbia to the Sault Ste. Marie. It is a far cry from the invasion of Ojibwa Michillimackinac by the long-haired *couriers de bois* of New France, to the invasion of Mackinac Island by modern armies of summer tourists from New England. In attempting, within this narrow compass, to tell the story of how it all came about, it will be impracticable to take more than a bird's-eye view.

In the first place, let us understand that the term Mackinac, as used in our earliest history, is the title of the entire district hereabout, as well as that of a definite settlement. There have been, in chronological succession, at least three distinct localities specifically styled Mackinac: (1) Between 1670 and 1706 the Mackinac of history was on the north side of the strait, upon Point St. Ignace, and wholly under the French régime. (2) From 1712 to 1781 Mackinac was on the south side of the strait — until 1763, just west of the present Mackinaw City, and possibly between 1764 and 1781 at some point farther west along the coast of Lake Michigan; this south-side Mackinac was at first French and then English, and the site near Mackinaw City has come to be known in history as "Old Mackinaw." Finally (3), the Mackinac settlement was in 1781 located upon the island near the centre of the strait, and while at first under English domination at last became American. A remembrance of these facts will help to dispel the fog which has often obscured our historical view of Mackinac — a fog which designing guide-book writers delight to

maintain, for they wish to beguile the summer tourist into believing that Mackinac Island has a clear title to fame, stretching back unto good Father Marquette.

That indefatigable explorer of high seas and pathless forests, Samuel de Champlain, planted the first permanent French colony in Canada, on the rock of Quebec, in 1608 — only a twelve month later than the establishment of Jamestown in far-off Virginia, and full twelve years before the coming to Plymouth of the Pilgrim Fathers. It was seven years before Champlain saw Lake Huron, his farthest point west in the limitless domain which the king of France had set him to govern. Twenty-one years had passed, — years of heroic struggling to push back the walls of savagery which ever hemmed him in, — when one day there came to Quebec, in the fleet of Indian canoes from this far Northwest, — which annually picked its way over 1500 miles of rugged waterways beset with a multitude of terrors, — a naked Algonkin, besmeared with grease and colored clays, who laid at the feet of the great white chief a lump of copper mined on the shores of Lake Superior. A shadowy region this, as far removed from the ordinary haunts of the adventurous woodsmen of New France as were the headwaters of the Nile from the African explorers of a generation ago, and quite as dangerous of access.

It was five years later (1634) before Champlain could see his way to sending a proper emissary into the Northwest. Finally one was found in the person of young Jean Nicolet, whom Champlain had trained in the forest for tasks like this. Conveyed by Indian oarsmen engaged by relays in the several tribes through which he passed, Nicolet pushed up the St. Lawrence, portaged around the rapids at Lachine, ascended the trough of the turbulent Ottawa with its hundred waterfalls, portaged over to Lake Nipissing, descended French Creek to Georgian Bay, and threading the gloomy archipelago of the Manitoulins, sat at last in a Chippewa council at Sault Ste. Marie. Doubtless he here heard of Lake Superior, not many miles away, but it does not appear that he saw its waters; intent on finding a path

which led to the China Sea, supposed not to be far beyond this point, he turned south again, and pushing on through these straits of Mackinac found and traversed Lake Michigan. He traded and made treaties with the astonished tribesmen of Wisconsin and Illinois, who in him saw their first white man, and brought the Northwest within the sphere of French influence.[1]

Seven years later the Jesuit missionaries, Jogues and Raymbault, following in the path of the exploring trader Nicolet, said mass before two thousand breech-clouted savages at Sault Ste. Marie. Affairs moved slowly upon these far-away borders of New France in the seventeenth century. Jogues and Raymbault had long been ashes before the Northwest again appeared on the pages of history; nearly a generation had passed (1658–62) before the daring forest traders and explorers, Radisson and Groseilliers, came upon the scene, discovered the Upper Mississippi, discovered Lake Superior, and first made known to the English the fur-trading capabilities of the Hudson Bay region. The Hudson's Bay Company was organized in London, with these renegade Frenchmen as their pilots, in 1670; the following year, at Sault Ste. Marie, Saint Lusson formally took possession of the great Northwest for the French king.[2] I suppose that Saint Lusson, when he floated the banner of France at the gateway of Lake Superior, knew nothing of his English neighbors, the Hudson's Bay Company; unconsciously he made an important play for France on the American chess-board; but a century later England won the game.

Those who have read Parkman's *Jesuits* will remember

[1] Authorities on Nicolet are: Butterfield's *History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet* (Cinn., 1881); Gosselin's *Les Normands au Canada — Jean Nicolet* (Evreux, 1893); Jouan's "Interprete voyageur au Canada, 1618–1642," in *La Revue Canadienne*, Fevrier, 1886; Sulte's *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature* (Ottawa, 1876); articles by Garneau, Ferland, Sulte, etc., in *Wis. Hist. Colls.;* and a bibliography by Butterfield in *ibid.*, xi, pp. 23, 25.

[2] See Saint Lusson's procès-verbal (June 14, 1671), in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 26–29.

that the Hurons, whose habitat had long been upon the eastern shores of Georgian Bay, retreated northward and westward before the advance of the all-conquering Iroquois. At first taking refuge with starving Algonkins on the Manitoulin Islands, and on the mainland hereabout, they were soon driven forth by their merciless foe, and made their stand in the swamps and tangled woods of far-away Wisconsin. Many of them centred upon Chequamegon Bay, the island-locked estuary near the southwest corner of Lake Superior, the ancient home of the Ojibwas. Here Radisson and Groseilliers visited and traded with them.[1] The Jesuit Ménard, who had accompanied these adventurers,— the first missionary to follow in the wake of Jogues and Raymbault,— had stopped at Keweenaw Bay to minister to the Ottawas, and later lost his life while trying to reach a village of Hurons, crouching, fear-stricken, in the forest fastnesses around the headwaters of the Black River.[2] Then came, three years later (1665), Father Alloüez, to reopen at Chequamegon Bay the Jesuit mission on our greatest inland sea. Alloüez being ordered, after four years of arduous and I fear unprofitable labor at Chequamegon, to found a mission at Green Bay, was succeeded (1669) by the youthful Marquette. But Marquette was not long at Chequamegon before his half-naked parishioners provoked to quarrel their powerful western neighbors, the Sioux, the result being (1670) that the Chequamegon bands, and Marquette with them, were driven like leaves before an autumn blast eastward along the southern shore of the great lake; the Ottawas taking up their homes in the Manitoulin Islands, the Hurons and the Ojibwas accompanying Marquette to a little fur-trading station on the north shore of

[1] Radisson's "Journal" first appeared in *Prince Soc. Pubs.*, xvi, (Boston, 1885). Portions were republished with notes, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi. See the following monographs on this subject: Campbell's "Exploration of L. Superior," *Parkman Club Pubs.* No. 2 (Milw., 1896), and Moore's "Discoveries of L. Superior," in *Mich. Polit. Sci. Ass. Pubs.*, ii, No. 5 (Ann Arbor, 1897).

[2] See Campbell's "Père René Ménard," *Parkman Club Pubs.* No. 11 (Milw., 1897).

the Straits of Mackinac, where he established the mission of St. Ignace.

Here, in "a rude and unshapely chapel, its sides of logs and its roof of bark," Marquette ministered to the miserable savages about him, and to the handful of nomadic fur-trade employees who in spring and autumn gathered at this isolated frontier post of New France on their way to and from the great wilderness beyond. Louis Joliet, the *coureur de bois*, was sent forth by the authorities at Quebec (1673) to explore the Mississippi River, about which so much had been heard, and by that route to reach, it may be, the great Western Ocean — for the road to India, either through the continent or by way of the Northwest Passage, was still being sought in those days. He stopped at Point St. Ignace and brought orders to Marquette to accompany him. The conversion of the Indians went hand in hand, in New France, with the extension of commerce; no trading-post was complete without its missionary, no exploring expedition without its ghostly counsellor. And so Marquette, a true soldier of the cross, receiving marching orders, promptly closed his little mission hut and went forth to help discover unknown lands and carry to their peoples the word of Christ. With Joliet he entered the Upper Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, and proceeded far enough down the great river to establish the fact that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and not the Pacific Ocean. It is probable that Radisson and Groseilliers were there thirteen years before them; but Radisson's Journal, written in England long after, was not published until our own time, and it is not at all likely that Joliet and Marquette, or any one else of importance in New France, ever heard of this prior claim. The merit of carefully-planned, premeditated discovery certainly rests with Joliet and his companion. It so happened — you of course remember the story of the swamping of Joliet's home-returning canoe in the wild rapids of Lachine — that the detailed journals and maps of the chief were lost; whereas the simple story which Marquette wrote at the Green Bay mission, and

transmitted by Indian courier to his father superior at Quebec, reached its destination and was published to the world for the glory of the church. Thus it was that the gentle, unassuming Marquette, who was the supernumerary of the expedition, became unwittingly its only historian; fate willed that his name should be more commonly associated with the great discovery than that of his secular superior. Four years later the weary bones of this missionary-explorer, who had died on his way thither from the savage camps of the Illinois, were laid to rest "in a little vault in the middle of the chapel" at St. Ignace. In September, 1877, when antiquarians could but ingeniously guess at the site of this early mission in the wilderness, the bones of Father Marquette were discovered in the rude grave wherein they had rested for two centuries, and to-day are visible relics for inspiration to deeds of holiness.[1]

Throughout the seventeenth century the outpost of Mackinac at Point St. Ignace — Michillimackinac, in those easy-going days when there was more time in which to pronounce the name — remained the most important French military and trading station in the upper lakes, for it guarded the gateway between Huron, Michigan, and Superior; and every notable expedition to the Northwest waters had perforce to stop here. We must not think of this Mackinac of the seventeenth century, strategetically important though it was, as a settlement in any modern sense. The policy of the rulers of New France was to maintain the interior of the continent as a fur-bearing wilderness. Unlike Anglo-Saxons, they had no desire to plant settlements simply as settlements. They had not the colonizing spirit of Englishmen. To carry the fur trade to the uttermost

[1] A detailed account, in German, of the discovery (said to have been written by Father Edward Jacker, then the Catholic missionary at St. Ignace) appeared first in the St. Louis *Pastoral-Blatt;* an English translation was published in the Green Bay (Wis.) *Advocate*, Aug. 29, 1878. The site of the old mission was discovered May 4, but the remains of Marquette were not exhumed until Sept. 3. See controversial articles in the St. Louis *Sunday Messenger*, June 24, 1877, and in the Chicago *Times*, Aug. 14 and 29, and Sept. 13, 1879.

limits, to bring the savages to at least a nominal recognition of the cross, were their chief aims; to this end, palisaded trading-posts, which they rather grandiloquently called forts, were established throughout the country, the officers of which were rare diplomatists, and bullied and cajoled the red men as occasion demanded. Around each of these little forts, and Mackinac was one of them, were small groups of *habitants*, *voyageurs*, and *coureurs de bois*, who could hardly be called colonists, for few of them expected to lay their bones in the wilderness, but eventually to return to their own people on the Lower St. Lawrence, when enriched or their working days were over. It was rather an army of occupation than a body of settlers.

The little log fort at Mackinac, calculated only to withstand a fusilade of savage arrows and musket-balls, was the principal feature of the place, and the commandant the chief personage. After him, the long-robed Jesuit, and then the swarm of folk dependent on the spasmodic fur trade. A lot of shiftless, easy-going, jolly dogs were the latter — the work-a-day French Canadians of the wilderness posts. First in this category, the *bourgeois*, or masters of the forest trade; then the *voyageurs*, or boatmen, who were as well men-of-all-work, propelling the canoes when afloat, carrying the boats over portages, transporting packs of goods and furs through the forest inlands, caring for the camps, and acting as guards for the persons and property of their employers; the *coureurs de bois*, or wood rangers, were men devoted to a life in the woods, for the fun and excitement in it, sometimes conducting a far-reaching fur trade on their own account — the widest travelers and most daring spirits in all the great Northwest; the *habitants*, or permanent villagers, were most of them farmers in a small way. Down by the beach were their little log-cabins, with their well-sweeps and orchards, back of which stretched the narrow, ribbon-like fields, such as one may see to-day at Quebec and Montreal. The French *habitant* was a social animal. He loved the village wine-shop, where, undisturbed by his sharp-eyed sharp-visaged, prim and gossipy,

white-aproned spouse, he could enjoy his pipe, his bowl, and his "fiddlers three." For they were famous fiddlers, these French Canadians. The fiddle was indispensable on social occasions. No wilderness so far away that the little French fiddle had not been there. The Indian recognized it as a part of the furniture of every fur-trader's camp. At night, as the wanderers lounged around the blazing heap of logs, the sepulchral arches of the forest resounded with the piercing strains of tortured catgut, accompanying the gayly-turbaned *voyageurs*, as in metallic tones they chanted favorite melodies of the river, the chase, love, and the wassail. In the village, no christening or wedding was complete without the fiddler; and at the almost nightly social gatherings, in each other's puncheon-floored cabins, the fiddler, enthroned cross-legged on a plank table, was the king of the feast. The waterway was their highway. From earliest youth they understood the handling of a canoe. Just as, in the Southwest, the cowboy mounts his horse to cross the street, and refuses work that cannot be done on the back of a broncho, the French Canadian went in a boat to visit his next-door neighbor.[1]

Thus matters progressed, in their even way, until the year of grace 1701, when the little group upon Point St. Ignace received word one day that a new post, called Detroit, had been established away down in the unknown country at the narrow mouth of Lake Huron, which was henceforth, under one Cadillac, to be the centre of commerce in these western parts. Heretofore, owing to the Iroquois stoutly holding the lower lakes against the French, progress to the far Northwest had been altogether by way of the raging Ottawa. But now, after seventy-five long years of journeying by that toilsome route, it had from various reasons become possible to come up here through Lakes Ontario and Erie. This new post, Detroit, was to command a still wider range than that of Mackinac; the garrison was soon withdrawn thither; the fur traders, both

[1] The writer has taken the liberty, in the foregoing paragraph, of borrowing some of the phraseology from his *Story of Wisconsin* (Boston, 1890).

white and Indian, for the most part, soon followed — it was easy for a population like this to pull up stakes and hie away at beat of drum. Nearly everybody went to the new Mecca, save the Jesuit missionaries, who were not wanted by this new man Cadillac, a hater of the "black robes." For five years the good fathers — there were three of them then — maintained their little chapel and school here on Point St. Ignace; but they ministered to an ever-decreasing, disorderly flock, and at last, burning their crude buildings, with a few white followers retired discomfited to Quebec.

For six years there does not appear to have been any French establishment hereabout. But in 1712 Governor-General Vaudreuil sent De Louvigny, a noted frontier captain, to restore the abandoned post on the upper waters. This he did, but upon the south shore of the strait, not far west of the present Mackinaw City; and over there on the mainland, at what came in time to be known as "Old Mackinaw"[1] — although it was, as we have seen, not the oldest Mackinac — occurred such historic events as are spread upon the records to the credit of this name between 1712 and 1763. It was on the ramparts of Old Mackinaw that, in token of the fall of New France, the *fleur-de-lis* was at last hauled down on the 28th of September, 1761, and the union jack proudly lifted to the breeze. Here, upon the 4th of June, 1763, occurred that cruel massacre of the English garrison, which Parkman has so vividly described to us in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac.*

A year or more later the English rebuilt their fort, but

[1] Notice the change in spelling. The historic name is Mackinac, a cut-short of Michillimackinac, and such is to-day the legal designation of Fort Mackinac, Strait of Mackinac, and Mackinac Island; but the pronunciation is Mackinaw. The spelling has been made phonetic in the cases of Old Mackinaw and Mackinaw City, to distinguish them from the island, and many writers prefer to use the phonetic form whenever mentioning any of the several Mackinacs. A cultured native of Mackinac Island has told me that, so far as he knew, but one person pronounced it Mack*inack;* and he was Samuel Abbott, of the old American Fur Company, who was regarded in his day as an eccentric.

whether or not upon the site of the massacre is a moot question. There appears to be good reason for the belief that it was among the sand-dunes farther west along the coast, for in the official correspondence of the next fifteen years there is much complaint upon the part of commandants that their "rickety picket is commanded by sand hills"—a condition which does not exist at the old site near Mackinaw City.

To this rickety picket there came one October day, in the year 1779, Patrick Sinclair, lieutenant-governor of Michillimackinac and its dependencies, charged with the rebuilding and enlarging of His Majesty's post in these parts. The Revolutionary War was in progress. George Rogers Clark had captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes; his emissaries were treating with Indian chiefs away off in Wisconsin; there were rumors of Clark's intended foray on Detroit; and some suspicions that the "Bostonais," as the French Canadians called these leather-shirted Virginians, had designs of putting a war vessel upon Lake Michigan. Sinclair saw at once that the old site was untenable and the fort beyond repair.

In advance of orders he made a bold step. Seven miles away to the northeast of Old Mackinaw lay a comely island in the midst of the strait—"La Grosse Isle," the Canadians called it, although smaller than its neighbor, Bois Blanc; a short of shrine, the earliest Indians deemed it, where at times they gathered at their medicine feasts, and to which, as to a sanctuary, they fled in periods of extreme danger. It is thought that Marquette once taught the natives there, upon his first arrival, but if so, it was not for long. Frenchmen were more considerate of the superstitions of the dusky tribesmen than were the intolerant English. This untenanted island Sinclair appropriated to the king's use, although he formally bought it from the Indians some eighteen months later for £5000, New York currency. A month after his arrival the lieutenant-governor began to erect a durable fort on the island, and thither, at last receiving permission from his superiors, he finally removed

in the spring of 1781, with him going the now revived Catholic mission and the entire fur-trade colony from the south shore. The new fort still bore the name of Fort Mackinac, and La Grosse Isle of the French was rechristened Mackinac Island.

By the treaty of Paris of 1783, Mackinac came within the boundary of the United States; but the English still held the whip-hand in these parts, and upon sundry pretexts continued to hold this and other lake posts until the Jay treaty set matters right. In October, 1796, American troops first took possession of the post, and this gateway to the upper lakes was as last ours. The English, however, were still hopeful that they would some day win this part of our country back again, and their garrison retired to Isle St. Josephs, only some 40 miles to the northeast, where in 1795 they had built a fort.

The French and half-breeds did not at first relish Yankee interference in their beloved Northwest. They had gotten along very nicely with the English, who fostered the fur trade and employed the French with liberality. Then, too, among the Creoles the reputation of these Americans was not of the best. They were known to be a busy, bustling, driving people, quite out of tune with the devil-may-care methods of the French, and were, moreover, an agricultural race that was fast narrowing the limits of the hunting grounds. The Frenchmen felt that their interests in this respect were identical with those of the savages, hence we find in the correspondence of the time a very bitter tone adopted towards the new-comers, who were regarded as intruders and covetous disturbers of existing commercial and social relations.

When war broke out between us and England, in 1812, naturally the Creoles of the Northwest were against us, and freely entered the service of their old and well-tried friends the English. Fort Mackinac was then garrisoned by "57 effective men, including officers." There had been no news sent here of the declaration of war, although the American lieutenant in charge, Porter Hanks, was expect-

ing it. July 17, 1812, a British force of 1000 whites and Indians from Fort St. Josephs secretly effected a landing at the cove on the northwest shore of the island — known today as "British Landing," — took possession of the heights overlooking the fort, and then coolly informed the commandant that hostilities had been declared between the two nations, and a surrender would be in order. The Americans were clearly at the mercy of the enemy, and promptly capitulated.

The old fort had never from the first been in good condition. The English, once more in possession, built a new and stronger fort upon the higher land to the rear, which they had occupied, and named it Fort George, in honor of their sovereign. This stronghold was stormed on the 4th of August, 1814, by United States troops under Col. George Croghan, who also disembarked at British Landing. The English position, however, was too strong for the assailants, who lost heavily under the galling fire of the French and Indian allies, and Croghan was obliged to retire. Among his dead was Major Holmes, a soldier of considerable reputation.

The treaty of Ghent resulted in the fortification being restored to the United States, the transfer being actually made on the eighteenth of July, 1815. Col. McDouall, the British commander at Mackinac, was loath to leave. His despatches to headquarters plainly indicate that he thought his government weak in surrendering to the Americans, for whom he had a decided contempt, this Malta of the Northwest. When at last obliged to go, he went no farther than necessary — indeed not quite as far, for he built a fort upon Drummond Island, at the mouth of River St. Mary, territory soon thereafter found to belong to the United States. It was not until thirteen years later (1828) that the English forces were finally and reluctantly withdrawn from Drummond Island,[1] and English agents upon our northern

[1] In his *Drummond Island*, Samuel F. Cook has given the history of the British occupation thereof, with numerous photographs of the ruins and surroundings of the old fort.

frontier ceased craftily to stir our uneasy Indian wards to bickerings and strife.

When the United States resumed possession of Mackinac Island the name of the fort built by the English on the highest ground was changed from Fort George to Fort Holmes, in honor of the victim of the assault of the year before; but later this position was abandoned, and old Fort Mackinac, built by Sinclair and capitulated by Hanks, was rehabilitated, and remains to this day as the military stronghold of the district.

The name of Mackinac will always be intimately associated with the story of the fur trade. We have seen that the first settlement upon the shores of these straits had its inception in the primitive commerce of the woods; and chiefly as a protection to this trade the several forts were maintained under changing flags unto our own day. In 1783 the Northwest Fur Company opened headquarters here; later, the Mackinac Company and the Southwest Fur Company were formidable competitors; in 1815, with the reestablishment of the American arms, came the American Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was the controlling spirit.

We cannot fully understand the course of history in this region unless we remember that despite the treaty of Ghent (1783), Jay's treaty (1794), Wayne's Indian treaty at Greenville (1795), and the occupation of Fort Mackinac by United States troops between 1796 and 1812, the fur trade upon the upper lakes and beyond was not really under American control until after the war of 1812–15; indeed, the territory itself was not within the sphere of American influence until that time, beyond the visible limits of the armed camps at Mackinac and Green Bay. After the Jay treaty, British traders, with French and half-breed clerks and *voyageurs*, were still permitted free intercourse with the savages of our Northwest, and held substantial domination over them. The Mackinac, Northwest, and Southwest companies were composed of British subjects — Scotchmen mainly — with headquarters at Montreal, and distributing points at Detroit,

Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, and Grand Portage. Their clerks and *voyageurs* were wide travellers, and carried the forest trade throughout the far west, from Great Slave Lake on the north to the valleys of the Platte and the Arkansas on the south, and to the parks and basins of the Rocky Mountains. Goods were sent up the lakes from Montreal, either by relays of sailing vessels, with portages of men and merchandise at the Falls of Niagara and the Sault Ste. Marie, or by picturesque fleets of bateaux and canoes up the Ottawa River and down French Creek into Georgian Bay, from there scattering to the companies' various *entrepots* of the south, west, and north.[1]

The Creole boatmen were a reckless set. They took life easily, but bore ill the mildest restraints of the trading settlements; their home was on the lakes and rivers and in the Indian camps, where they joyously partook of the most humble fare, and on occasion were not averse to suffering extraordinary hardships in the service of their *bourgeois*. Their pay was light, but their thoughts were lighter, and the vaulted forest rang with the gay laughter of these heedless adventurers; while the pent-up valleys of our bluff-girted streams echoed the refrains of their rudely melodious boating songs, which served the double purpose of whiling the idle hours away and measuring progress along the glistening waterways.

In Irving's *Astoria* is a charming description of fur-trading life at the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, over which boats and cargoes were carried from the eastward-flowing Pigeon to the tortuous waters which glide through a hundred sylvan lakes and over a hundred dashing rapids into the wide-reaching system of Lake Winnepeg and the Assiniboine.[2] The book records the heroic trans-continental expedition of Wilson and Hunt, which started from Mackinaw one bright morning in August, 1809, and wended its toilsome way along many a river and through mountain-

[1] See Turner's "Fur Trade in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1889.

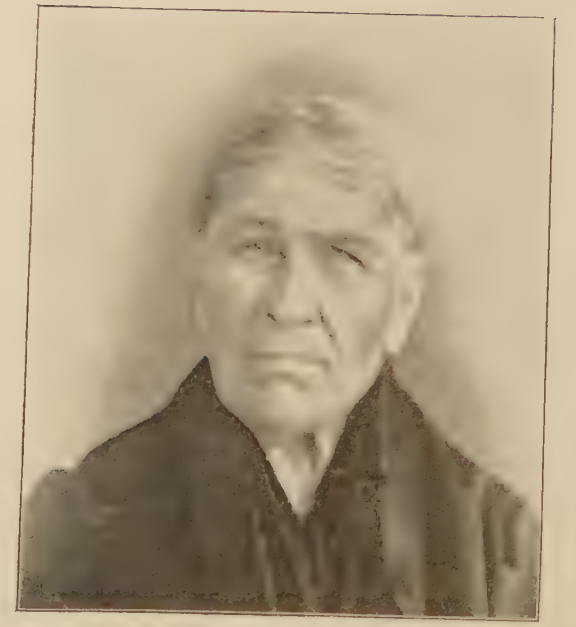
[2] For historical sketch of Grand Portage, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 123–125. See N. Y. *Nation*, Dec. 23, 1897, pp. 499–501, for corrections of *Astoria*.

passes, beset by a thousand perils, to plant far-distant Astoria.

With the coming of peace in 1815, English fur-traders were forbidden the country, and American interests, represented by Astor's great company, were at last dominant in this great field of commerce. New and improved methods were introduced, and the American Fur Company soon had a firm hold upon the western country; nevertheless, the great corporation never succeeded in ridding itself of the necessity of employing the Creole and mixed-blood *voyageurs*, *engagés*, and interpreters, and was obliged to shape its policy so as to accommodate this great army of easy-going subordinates.

The fur trade of Mackinac was in its heyday about the year 1820. Gradually, with the inrush of settlement and the consequent cutting of the timber, the commerce of the forest waned, until about 1840 it was practically at an end, and the halcyon days of Mackinac were o'er. For years it was prominent as the site of a Protestant mission to the modernized Indians of Michigan and Wisconsin;[1] finally, even this special interest was removed to new seats of influence, nearer the vanishing tribes, and Mackinac became resigned to the hum-drum of modern life — a sort of Malta, now but spasmodically garrisoned; a fishing station for the Chicago trade; a port of call for vessels passing her door; a resort for summer tourists; a scene which the historical novelist may dress to his fancy; a shrine at which the historical pilgrim may worship, thankful, indeed, that in what many think the Sahara of American history are left a few romantic oases like unto this.

[1] For an account of this experiment, see Williams's *The Old Mission Church of Mackinac Island* (Detroit, 1895).



Mad. Thérèse Schindler.

Mrs. Elizabeth Thérèse Baird.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY DAYS ON MACKINAC ISLAND.

BY ELIZABETH THÈRÉSE BAIRD.[1]

To live among the Indians and not to fear them, would scarcely seem possible to many a reader; yet this was true of the writer, whose childhood was passed among them. To know we had Indian blood in our veins was in one respect a safeguard, in another a great risk. Each tribe was ever at enmity with the others. No one could foretell what might happen when by chance two or more tribes should meet, or encamp at any one place at the same time. This, however, would be of rare occurrence. Unless on the war-path, Indians keep by themselves.

Many of their habits were startling. It was their custom while in towns to saunter about the streets in a very indifferent manner; and if they chose, to take a look at the inte-

[1] The author of these reminiscences was born at Prairie du Chien, Wis., April 24, 1810, the daughter of Henry Munro Fisher, a prominent fur trader, of Scotch ancestry, in the employ of the American Fur Co. Her mother was Marienne Lasalière, a daughter of Madame Thérèse Schindler (wife of George Schindler) by her first husband, Pierre Lasalière. Madame Schindler's mother was Migisan (although called by the French, Marie), the daughter of an Ottawa chief, Kewinaquot (Returning Cloud). In 1824, when but fourteen years of age, Miss Fisher was married at Mackinac Island, where she had spent the greater portion of her youth, to Henry S. Baird, then a young Green Bay lawyer. Mr. and Mrs. Baird removed at once to Green Bay, where Mr. Baird (born in 1800) died in 1876, and Mrs. Baird, November 5, 1890. Mrs. Baird was a woman of charming personality and excellent education, proud of her trace of Indian blood, and had a wide acquaintance with the principal men and women of early Wisconsin. Having traveled and seen much, in pioneer days, and being gifted

rior of any house they might be passing. Men, women, or children, would spread their blankets to the top of their heads, to exclude the light, and then peer in through the windows, to their heart's content. This was done at any home and no one dared resist the intrusion. Indians never herald their approach, either in peace or war. They never knock at a door; but stalk in, and squat themselves on the floor. All this refers to the Indians of the first third of our century. You always heard a man come in, as his step was firm, proud, and full of dignity. The women, however, made no sound.

From the time of the war of 1812, the British government paid to all Indians who had fought for them, an annuity, which they called "presents;" and every year, all of these Indians, from north to south, east to west, would go to Canada to receive their "presents," which were really very fine. Each man and woman received handsome broadcloth,— blue, black, and scarlet, with various colored ribbons to garnish it. Beads also were given to all, and silver ornaments. The chiefs alone wore hats, encircled by silver bands from one to two inches wide. There were armlets also of silver three or four inches wide, to wear on the arms above and below the elbow. Earrings and brooches for both sexes were among the "presents;" these were of solid silver. The Indians, in their usual improvident manner, would, on

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with a retentive memory which did not fail her until the last few weeks of her long life, she was a rare source of information to Western historical students. The present Editor frequently drew upon her memory, for data with which to annotate these *Collections*. To the columns of the Green Bay *State Gazette*, between Dec. 4, 1886, and Nov. 19, 1887, Mrs. Baird contributed a series of papers relating her early experiences on Mackinac Island and in Wisconsin Territory. The present article is a collection of such of those papers as referred to Mackinac,— condensed at a few points, and otherwise edited, in accordance with an agreement between Mrs. Baird and the Editor, the former contributing for this purpose some information which did not appear in the series as originally published in the *State Gazette*. It is hoped that space for the remainder of Mrs. Baird's Reminiscences — those relating especially to Wisconsin — may be found in Vol. XV of these *Collections*.— ED.

their long journey to Canada, get out of provisions, and gladly offer the silver ornaments received the previous year, in exchange for bread and potatoes; they never cared for meat. Purchasers of this silver were plentiful, and much of it afterwards found its way into the white man's melting pot. It was in these journeyings that occasionally, under stress of weather, they would be obliged to encamp in or near some white settlement. What rejoicing when they left!

All of these Indians had to go by the way of the island of Mackinac, to reach Canada. In this way, I learned much of their manners; some were terrifying. I was very clannish. Individually I feared all Indians except our own — Ottawas and Chippewas. My dislike for other tribes was an inheritance. Of all the tribes, Winnebagoes were my especial dread. Although I disliked the Sioux, I did not fear them; but the Winnebagoes I knew to be a cruel people, and stood in terror of them.

I was particularly fond of the Island of Mackinac in winter, with its ice-bound shore. In some seasons, ice mountains loomed up, picturesque and color-enticing, in every direction. At other seasons, the ice would be as smooth as one could wish. There was then hardly any winter communication with the outer world; for about eight months in the year, the island lay dormant. A mail would come across the ice from the mainland, once a month, to disturb the peace of the inhabitants; its arrival was a matter of profound and agitating interest.

The dwellers on the island were mostly Roman Catholics. There was, however, no priest stationed here at that early day; but occasionally one would come, and keep alive the little spark, kindled so many years before by the devoted Jesuit missionaries.

Mackinac, or Michillimackinac (the "great turtle"),[1] saw the great fur-trade emporium of the West. All the traders

[1] Such is the etymology, as given by most of the popular writers, the supposition being that it refers to the oval shape of the island. The Ottawa chief, A. J. Blackbird, in his *History of the Ottawa and Chip-*

came here to sell their furs and buy their supplies, and the goods which they bartered for furs in the distant forests. These goods were brought from Montreal in birch-bark canoes by way of Niagara Falls, the Indians carrying the loads over the portage.

About the year 1802, Alexis Laframboise, a man of means, came to Mackinac in the interests of the fur trade. His wife and her sister accompanied him. They were educated women, members of the Catholic church, and grieved deeply over the lack of school and church advantages in this far-off island. There was no church of any denomination, you might almost say no religion; no schools, and no amusements of any kind. Miss Angelique Adhemar, sister of Madame Madeline Laframboise, was induced to open a school soon after her arrival, and one of her pupils, Miss La Salière (afterwards Mrs. Henry Fisher, and my mother), was permitted in after years to be the means of spreading through all adjoining parts of this region the education which she had received. Laframboise himself not long after died, and his women-folk returned to Montreal, regretting that the great work had to be left unfinished. But the seed which had been sown by Father Marquette, and cultivated by these devout ladies, bore a hundred-fold in after years.

The Catholic faith prevailing, it followed as a matter of course that the special holidays of the church were always observed in a memorable, pleasant manner in one's own family, in which some friends and neighbors would participate. Some weeks before Christmas, the denizens of the island met in turn at each other's homes, and read the prayers, chanted psalms, and unfailingly repeated the litany of the saints. On Christmas eve, both sexes would read and sing, the service lasting till midnight. After this, a *réveillon* (midnight treat) would be partaken of by all.

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pewa Indians of Michigan, (Ypsilanti, Mich., 1887), pp. 19, 20, gives a far different derivation; he traces the name back to "Mishinemackinong", the dwelling place of the Mishinemackinawgo, a small tribe, early allies of the Ottawas, but practically annihilated by the Iroquois, during one of the Northwestern raids of the latter.—Ed.

The last meeting of this sort which I attended, was at our own home, in 1823. This affair was considered the high feast of the season, and no pains was spared to make the accompanying meal as good as the island afforded. The cooking was done at an open fire. I wish I could remember in full the bill of fare; however, I will give all that I recall. We will begin with the roast pig; roast goose; chicken pie; round of beef, *à la mode; pattes d'ours* (bear's paws, called so from the shape, and made of chopped meat in crust, corresponding to rissoles); sausage; head-cheese; souse; small-fruit preserves; small cakes. Such was the array. No one was expected to partake of every dish, unless he chose. Christmas was observed as a holy-day. The children were kept at home, and from play, until nearly night-time, when they would be allowed to run out and bid their friends a "Merry Christmas," spending the evening, however, at home with the family, the service of prayer and song being observed as before mentioned. All would sing; there was no particular master,—it was the sentiment, that was so pleasing to us; the music we did not care so much for.

As soon as *la fête de Nöel*, or Christmas-tide, had passed, all the young people were set at work to prepare for New Year's. Christmas was not the day to give and receive presents; this was reserved for New Year's. On the eve of that day, great preparations were made by a certain class of elderly men, usually fishermen, who went from house to house in grotesque dress, singing and dancing. Following this they would receive gifts. Their song was often quite terrifying to little girls, as the gift asked for in the song was *la fille aînée*, the eldest daughter.[1] The song ran thus:

Bon jour, le Maître et la Maîtresse,
Et tout le monde du loger.
Si vous voulez nous rien donner, dites-le nous;
Nous vous demandons seulement la fille aînée!

[1] The lines here given are but one of many versions of the *Guignolée* — a song, and also a custom, brought to Canada by its first French colonists;

As they were always expected, every one was prepared to receive them. This ended the last day of the year. After evening prayer in the family, the children would retire early. At the dawn of the New Year, each child would go to the bedside of its parents to receive their benediction — a most beautiful custom. My sympathies always went out to children who had no parents near.

In 1812, three years after her marriage, Mrs. Henry Fisher (my mother) left her home at Prairie du Chien to visit, as she then thought, her parents at the old island home. She had been at Mackinac but a short time when war was declared with England, and all the country hereabout was in arms; Indians in all directions were on the war path. As the result of that war my mother's home at Prairie du Chien was broken up and she never returned there, but with me (then two years old) made her future home with her parents at Mackinac.

At the time when George Schindler lost health and property and became a cripple, his wife (Thérèse, and my maternal grandmother) bravely took up the burden and continued the business of fur trade with the Indians. Grandfather Schindler was a man of scholarly attainments, and when he could no longer lead an active life he opened a school for boys, in which many of the early American settlers received their education, among them being Hercules L. Dousman, afterward a familiar name.

About this time, the late Robert Stuart, manager of the American Fur Company, persuaded my mother to open a school for the traders' daughters. Mackinac was the principal depot of supplies for the fur traders; they came there in great numbers in the summer, with their furs. After making their purchases they would return to the Indian country, where they had their homes and their Indian

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and a more or less Christianized survival of Druidic times. This name (also appearing as *La Ignolée*, *Guillonée*, etc.) is a corruption of the cry, *Au gui l'an neuf!* "To the mistletoe, this new year!" See account of this custom, with the words and music of the song, Gagnon's *Chansons Populaires du Canada* (Quebec, 1894), pp. 238–253.—Ed.

wives. Many had large families, and as the children matured the fathers were loth to have them live among the Indians. It was for these girls that my mother opened a school, the first boarding school in the Northwest. It was not however, a school of the modern sort. The girls were taught to read, to write, and to sew, which latter accomplishment included the art of cutting and making their own clothes. In addition, they were taught general housekeeping. These girls ranged in age from twelve to eighteen, all old enough to be a great charge; but they were good girls. It is a remarkable fact, that without exception they each had in after years histories worthy of record.

Reminiscences of childhood at Mackinac hold much that to-day would be novel to many, if not of interest to all. A description of my carriole, or dog-sledge, holds a pleasant place in memory. It was handsome in shape, with a high back, and sides sloping gracefully to the front. The outside color was a dark green, the inside a cream color, and the runners black. It was drawn by two large dogs harnessed tandem — one perfectly white, the other black. The white was an old dog which had seen much service; his name was "Caribou," the black responded to the name of "Nero." The young man who drove them, was François Lacroix This rig we owned from the time I was about seven years old until I reached ten, possibly later. The name of my carriole was "la Boudeuse" (pouter); why, I cannot imagine. Dogs cannot be broken or trained to the harness in the manner that horses are; they will not be driven with bridle or rein. A person must run along beside them to keep them in order. In a long journey the traveler takes the risk of a continuous trip. His team may pursue its way steadily for awhile, doing so as long as nothing appears on the way to excite them; but let a bird or rabbit or any other game cross their vision and away they will go, the dog-sledge, passenger and all, as there is no way of stopping them. One may have a merry ride, if the way be smooth, before they give up the chase.

How well I remember my outdoor gear in winter, a long circular cloak, of snuff-brown broadcloth; over this a large cape of the same material, braided all round in Roman border. Let me say here that machine-made braid was not to be purchased in this part of the world; this was plaited, of black worsted. My cap was of plucked beaver, and my mittens were of buckskin, fur-lined. Moccasins were of course indispensable.

A snow storm occurred at Mackinac in my childhood, which is always recalled each season, as it was the snow storm that surpassed all others. It began after the manner of all such storms, but its ending proved something more formidable. As hour after hour feathery flakes followed each other down, no one paid much attention to them, save the weather-wise fisherman who went often to his door to study the clouds. Many were the anxious thoughts he gave to his nets on the lake, which he knew his dogs could not reach in the newly-fallen snow. All day it snowed, and during the night the storm increased in violence, yet no one was apprehensive. But the next morning revealed a buried town — only the fort and a few houses on the hill side showing at all through the white mass. People had to dig themselves out of this "beautiful snow;" or, as in most cases, wait to be dug out. The commanding officer of the fort, Benjamin K. Pierce (a brother of the president, James K.), sent a detachment of soldiers to the rescue. The place looked novel indeed, with only narrow, high-walled paths from house to house. As the storm came from the northeast, our home was sheltered in such a way as to be among the few not out of sight. This snow storm afforded rare sport for the boys, who made other thoroughfares by tunnelling paths from house to house. I do not remember that this storm was in any sense disastrous, for as the wind blew strongly towards the island it left the ice clear of snow and the fishermen were able to get to their nets; thus no suffering was entailed upon the little town.

In the fall of 1815, Madame Marie Chandonée, *née* Chap-

oton, with her infant son, left Detroit to join her husband, Jean B. Chandonée, in Chicago. When she reached Mackinac, her child was too ill to travel farther; and when he recovered, it was too late that season to resume the journey. Although it was only October, no vessel would brave the autumnal storms, and there was no alternative for Mme. Chandonée but to make Mackinac her home for the winter with her husband's aunt, Mme. Thérèse Schindler. Spring came and went, and not until the middle or last of June, 1816, did the first vessel present itself for this route. Then Mme. Chandonée, with her little one, accompanied by my mother and me, embarked again for Chicago. The vessel had the then familiar load of pork, flour, and butter. I know not how long she was in going or coming; I only know she was one month making the round trip, which was thought to be doing well.

There were no ports on the west side of Lake Michigan, at which to stop. But when we reached Chicago, there was considerable delay in getting into the river. It was a very narrow stream, with high banks of white sand. Not far up the river, stood Fort Dearborn, only a few rods from the water's edge.[1] Directly opposite the fort was the Kinzie homestead, with all its comforts. The house was a large, one-story building, with an exceptionally high attic. The front door opened into a wide hall, that hospitably led into the kitchen, which was spacious and bright, made so by the large fire-place. Four rooms opened into the hall, two on each side, and the upper story contained four rooms. The fare of that house was all an epicure of the present day could desire, including game and fish of all sorts; and then the cooking was done by open fire-place, in its best style.

We were entertained by the hospitable inmates of this pleasant home, Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie (father and mother of

[1] See Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1897, p. 29, for citations of documentary evidence of the actual site of Fort Dearborn, with cuts based on contemporary sketches of the fort, made in 1808 by Capt. John Whistler, its builder.—Ed.

John H.) being old friends of my mother. Mme. Chandonée was a stranger to the family; but her husband was an inmate of the household, being there in employ of the government. The establishment consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie, two sons and two daughters, and the men and women retainers, who seemed to be many. This home, the garrison, and the home of Jean Baptist Beaubien, were all there was of Chicago at that time.

The only way of crossing the river was by a wooden canoe or dug-out. My mother, who feared the water very much, forbade me crossing over. The Kinzie children were so accustomed to this mode of crossing, going whenever they wished, that without realizing my mother's fears they took me over with them, and I recall to this day the pleasure the dug-out gave me. The sailors were a little girl about ten years of age, and a boy of eight. With such a crew did I first cross Chicago river in 1816. The other amusements the surroundings offered, were the walks and tumbles about the sand hills.

My mother had an old acquaintance (a beautiful woman, who was married at Mackinac), the invalid wife of an officer at Fort Dearborn. She was a Miss Aiken, one of the five daughters of a Mrs. Aiken of Montreal, nearly all of whom married army officers; Mrs. Aiken was a sister of Mrs. Michael Dousman, of Prairie du Chien.

Mrs. Kinzie had a daughter by a former husband, who was married to a man named Helms. Their home was at some distance, on the fort side of the river, and once my mother went to see this friend. The walk thither was quite long for the children. On our arrival we found a little square house, with no floor, but tarpaulin spread down in lieu of it. Tarpaulin was also hang about the walls. The writer wonders where to-day in all that vast city, is the site of that humble home! In after years, Mrs. Helms, then a widow, went to Fort Winnebago to make her home there with her brother, John H. Kinzie, who was Indian agent at that post. She was, I think, the first white woman who traveled from Fort Winnebago to Green Bay

on horseback. She made the journey in the winter of 1833, and wore a mask to protect her face. She afterwards married Dr. Abbott, of the regular army.

We remained in Chicago for some time, the vessel master seeking for a cargo which was not secured. It was too early for furs, so finally the vessel had to take on a ballast of gravel and sand. Beside ourselves, the party who took passage on this vessel, were Major Baker, and his wife and daughter. The Major was then on his way to Green Bay to take command of Camp Smith. The daughter was an invalid, and had what is commonly called "fits." She was seized with one in the cabin while I sat by her; and such an impression did her fright make that I have never forgotten Miss Jerusha Baker.

Pursuing our journey northward, we coasted along the east side of the lake, stopping where we could, to secure if possible a cargo; but failing, arrived at Mackinac with the same ballast with which we started from Chicago. One of the sailors was a colored man, who was uncommonly kind to me. One great amusement for me during the long trip, was hunting for shells in the sand in the hold of the vessel. This sailor would take me down, and while I played, sit by and mend his clothes, talking all the while to me, and I not understanding a word, as he spoke English, and I only French.

The day before the vessel arrived at Mackinac a storm came up, which increased in violence as night approached, and nearly dismantled the craft, she losing much of her rigging, and being thrown upon one of those rocky points, escape from which I have since heard was most providential. We reached home the following night, and this arrival made a lasting impression upon one so young. My grandparents seemed overwhelmed with joy, after the fears they had endured during the storm, to have restored to them all they held dearest in the world. Their happiness was indeed pathetic. I still have the keenest recollection of it. This trip might, like many other things, have been forgotten if it had not been the marked event of my little life

as it was that of my mother's, who had never before been on any water craft save a birch-bark canoe, or a bateau or Mackinac boat.

A visit to the sugar camp was a great treat to the young folks as well as to the old. In the days I write of, sugar was a scarce article, save in the Northwest, where maple sugar was largely manufactured. All who were able, possessed a sugar camp. My grandmother had one on Bois Blanc Island, about five miles east of Mackinac. About the first of March, nearly half of the inhabitants of our town, as well as many from the garrison, would move to Bois Blanc to prepare for the work. Our camp was delightfully situated in the midst of a forest of maple, or a maple grove. A thousand or more trees claimed our care, and three men and two women were employed to do the work.

The "camp", — as we specifically styled the building in which the sugar was made, and the sugar-makers housed, — was made of poles or small trees, enclosed with sheets of cedar bark, and was about thirty feet long by eighteen feet wide. On each side was a platform, about eighteen inches high and four feet wide. One side was intended for beds, and each bed when not in use was rolled up nicely, wrapped in an Indian mat, then placed back against the wall; the bedroom then became a sitting room. The walls on the inside were covered with tarpaulin, also the floor. The women's bedding was placed at one end of the platform. The platform on the opposite side served as a dining floor, one end of which was enclosed in cedar bark, forming a closet for the dishes and cooking utensils. The dishes consisted of some crockery, tin plates and cups, and wooden dishes and ladles. A wing was added at one end, for the men's bed-room.

At either end of the camp were doors, made large to admit heavy logs for the fire. The fire-place was midway between the two platforms, and extended to within six feet of the doors. At each corner of the fire-place were large posts, firmly planted in the ground and extending upwards

about five feet or more. Large timbers were placed lengthwise on top of these posts, and across the timbers extended bars from which, by chains and hoops, were suspended large brass kettles, two on each bar. On the dining-room side, half way up the wall, ran a pole, horizontally. This was to hold in place hemlock branches, which were brought in fresh every evening. The place between the fire and platforms was kept very neat by a thick, heavy broom, made of cedar branches, cut off evenly on the bottom, and with a long handle. These brooms are still used by semi-civilized Indians.

The hanging of the kettle was quite a test of skill, requiring three persons to perform the task. The fire had to be burning briskly when the hanging began. It was the duty of one person to hang the kettle properly; of the second, to pour in immediately a small quantity of sap to keep the vessel from burning; of the third, to fill it with the sap. The peak of the roof was left open to allow the smoke to escape,— and at night to let in the stars, as was my childish fancy. In early morning, the birds would arouse us to listen to their songs and catch a sight of the waning stars. Blue jays were especially numerous, and so tame that one could fairly enjoy them. Other birds would in turn sing and whistle, as the stars disappeared and the day dawned. An owl made its abiding-place in a tree near by, sentinel-like, and ever uttered its coo-coo-coo-*hoo*, as the Indian had named its utterance. The sound of the whip-poor-will was a harbinger of spring, and a warning that the time to cease sugar-making had arrived.

Now for the work: All the utensils used in making sugar were of that daintiest of material, birch-bark. The *casseau* to set at the tree, to catch the sap, was a birch-bark dish, holding from one to two gallons. The pails for carrying the sap were of the same material, and held from three to four gallons. The men placed a *gauje* or yoke on their shoulders, then a bucket would be suspended on each side. The women seldom used this yoke, but assisted the men in carrying the buckets, doing so in the usual manner. The

mocock, in which the sugar was packed, was also of birch-bark and held from thirty to eighty pounds. The bark was gathered in the summer at Bark Point. The name was afterward done into French as "Point aux Ecorces," meaning "bark point." The sailors now miscall it, "Point au Barques."

The *gouttière* or spout, which was made of basswood, had to be cleaned each spring, before it was placed in the tree; the birch-bark for the *casseau* ,was cleaned by taking off a layer of the inner bark and then washing it. The buckets were made by sewing the seams with *bast* (which is taken from the inner bark of basswood), then gummed over with pine pitch. They also were carefully washed and dried before use. As a matter of course, the larger vessels to receive the sap were barrels made of oak. No pine was ever used about the camp, as that would impart a disagreeable taste. The strainers were made of a particular kind of flannel, of very coarse thread and not woolly, brought especially for this purpose by the merchants. I remember well, the cleaning of these. After they had been used, they were put into a tub of very hot water and washed (without soap); or pounded, rather, with a *battoir* or beetle, then rinsed in many waters.

By this time the sap must be boiling. It takes over twenty-four hours to make the sap into syrup, and the boiling is usually begun in the morning. The fire is kept bright all day and night. Two women are detailed to watch the kettles closely, for when the sap boils down nearly to syrup, it is liable to bubble over at any moment. The women therefore stand by with a branch of hemlock in hand; as soon the liquid threatens to boil over, they dip the branch in quickly, and, it being cool, the syrup is settled for a while. When at this stage, it requires closest watching. When the sap has boiled down about one-half, the women have to transfer the contents of one kettle to another, as the kettles must be kept full for fear of scorching the top of the kettle, which would spoil all. As fast as a kettle is emptied it will be filled with water and set

aside, awaiting the general cleaning. The kettles require the utmost care, being scoured as soon as possible each time emptied, keeping one woman employed nearly all of the time. Sand and water are the cleansing agents used.

All this time, if the weather favors the running of the sap, it is brought as fast as possible, and the boiling goes on. At this period, my grandmother would send me my little barrel full of the syrup. This miniature barrel I still have in my possession. The barrel bears the date 1815, and is now dark and polished with age, and is a rare memento of those halcyon days.[1] It holds less than a pint, and was made by an Ottawa Indian, out of a solid piece of wood, sides and ends all one, the interior being ingeniously burned out through the bung-hole. The receipt of this was the signal that the time had come when I too might visit the camp.

When made, the syrup is placed in barrels, awaiting the time when it can be made into sugar of various kinds, the *modus operandi* thus: a very bright brass kettle is placed over a slow fire (it cannot be done at boiling time, as then a brisk fire is required),—this kettle containing about three gallons of syrup, if it is to be made into cakes; if into *cassonade*, or granulated sugar, two gallons of syrup are used. For the sugar cakes, a board of basswood is prepared, about five or six inches wide, with moulds gouged in, in form of bears, diamonds, crosses, rabbits, turtles, spheres, etc. When the sugar is cooked to a certain degree, it is poured into these moulds. For the granulated sugar, the stirring is continued for a longer time, this being done with a long paddle which looks like a mush-stick. This sugar has to be put into the mocock while warm, as it will not pack well if cold. This work is especially difficult; only a little can be made at a time, and it was always done under my grandmother's immediate supervision.

[1] It is now in the possession of the author's daughter, Mrs. Louise S. Favill, of Madison, Wis.—Ed.

The sugar-gum, or wax, is also made separately. Large wooden bowls, or birch-bark *casseaus*, are filled with snow, and when the syrup is of the right consistence it is poured upon the snow in thin sheets. When cooled it is put into thin birch-bark, made into a neat package, and tied with bast. The syrup made for table use is boiled very thick, which prevents its souring. For summer use, it is put into jugs and buried in the ground two or three feet deep, where it will keep a year, more or less.

The trip to Bois Blanc I made in my dog-sled. François Lacroix (the son of a slave), whom my grandmother reared, was my companion. The ride over the ice, across the lake, was a delightful one; and the drive through the woods (which were notably clear of underbrush), to the camp, about a mile from the shore, was equally charming.

The pleasures of the camp were varied. In out-of-door amusement, I found delight in playing about great trees that had been uprooted in some wind storm. Frequently, each season, near the close of sugar-making, parties of ladies and gentlemen would come over from Mackinac, bent on a merry time, which they never failed to secure.

One time, a party of five ladies and five gentlemen were invited to the camp. Each lady brought a frying-pan in which to cook and turn *les crêpes* or pancakes, which was to be the special feature and fun of the occasion. All due preparation was made for using the frying-pan. We were notified that no girl was fitted to be married until she could turn a *crêpe*. Naturally, all were desirous to try their skill in that direction, whether matrimonially inclined or not. The gentlemen of the party tried their hand at it, as well as the ladies. It may not be amiss here to explain what to turn the *crêpe* meant; when the cake was cooked on one side, it was dexterously tossed in the air and expected to land, the other side up, back in the pan. Never did I see objects miss so widely the mark aimed at. It seemed indeed that the *crêpes* were influenced by the glee of the party; they turned and flew everywhere, but where wanted Many fell into the fire, as if the turner had so intended.

Some went to the ground, and one even found its way to the platform, over the head of the turner. One gentleman (Henry S. Baird) came up to Mrs. John Dousman, and holding out his nice fur cap, said, "Now turn your cake, and I will catch it." Mrs. Dousman was an adept at turning, and before the challenger had time to withdraw his cap, with a toss she deftly turned the cake and landed it fairly into the cap. You may imagine the sport all this afforded. In due time, a nice dinner was prepared. We had partridges roasted on sticks before the fire; rabbit and stuffed squirrel, cooked French fashion; and finally had as many *crêpes*, with syrup, as we desired. Every one departed with a bark of wax, and sugar cakes.

The year before, I was weather-bound at the camp. The sugar-making was ended, and the camp broken up. All the utensils were placed in the house; the kettles were set upside down on the platform; the *casseaus* had the two stitches that held them in place as a dish taken out, leaving them as square pieces of bark; all these squares were tied in packages of a hundred each, and laid on the other platform; the barrels were placed between the fireplace and the platform; the remaining fuel was taken in, under shelter. Then some cedar bark was placed over the opening in the roof, and doors made fast by logs rolled before them. I do not remember that our premises were ever molested. In this fashion, was the camp left through every winter. Occasionally during the season that followed, it was the habit of François Lacroix to cross over and see that all was safe, returning with a goodly load of pigeons or ducks.

This time, we were waiting for them to come from the island, for us and our goods. It was a difficult thing to achieve, this particular season, as the ice had broken up in the lakes before the sugar-making was ended, and we had to wait until the ice had drifted off. When all was supposed to be safe, a birch-bark canoe, with a small crew, came to Bois Blanc to take us home. Reports were fair,

all of the ice having gone down the lake, leaving clear water. We started with a heavy load, consisting of all the baggage of the camp, the sugar, etc. About half-way between the islands the steersman cried out, "Ice coming down!" Surely it was coming, and coming fast, as the wind had risen and was blowing the detached floes towards us. There was no escape, as in all directions the great cakes appeared, surrounding, though not yet upon us. To advance was perilous, to retreat was equally so, so rapidly were they closing in upon us. With their paddles, the men pushed off the ice so that it might not touch the frail canoe. Our craft floated down some distance on the shore side of the ice, when kind Providence opened a way out of peril for us. A large cake of ice had drifted to the beach and grounded there. One of our men fastened a rope around his waist, and jumped upon this cake, which was so porous that he could hardly keep erect upon it. The men in the boat watched anxiously, ready to pull the rope should the ice prove unsafe. He reported it fast aground, so our canoe was paddled beyond it and we were safely landed on Bois Blanc. Fortunately for us we knew a few of the inhabitants who lived on this shore of the island. One Mollier was quite anxious to entertain us, but from choice we went to the house of Mrs. Terrien (a fisherman's wife). The next day, the lake being clear of ice, we started early and got home in good time. Who that knew it, can ever forget the sufferings of the one at home, whose mother and only child were embarked in that frail canoe?

In the early days of which these articles treat, the society at Mackinac was very small in winter. The people were mostly French, with the habits of France, but not with the frivolities of Paris — instead, good, sensible people. There were a few families on the island of Scotch descent, and several of mixed blood. Although small, the society was aristocratic in tendency. The fort was garrisoned by American officers, some of whom had French wives; among them may be mentioned Captain Brooks, whose wife was a French lady from Detroit, whose sister, Miss Mai, made

her home with them. Then there was Mrs. Whistler, wife of Major Whistler; she was of Scotch and French descent.

One interesting and wealthy family was that of Dr. David Mitchell,[1] which consisted of his wife (of mixed blood), and a number of sons and daughters. The daughters, at the time now mentioned, had returned from Europe, where they had received the education which at that day was given young ladies. The sons were sent to Montreal for their education. This family were, of course, all British subjects. When the island was ceded to the United States, Dr. Mitchell would not remain there but followed the troops to Drummond's Island, where he made himself a home and where the remainder of his days were spent. His wife retained her old home at Mackinac, with the daughters and two sons. Mrs. Mitchell and her sons continued in the fur trade and added much to an already large fortune, for the trade made all rich. The mother and daughters would, in turn, visit Dr. Mitchell during the summer, but would not take the risk of a winter's visit. Two of the sons, however, remained with their father.

The old homestead, which was built while Mackinac was under British rule, is still standing. It was the largest dwelling-house ever erected on the island. It is two stories high, with a high attic, this having dormer windows. The grounds surrounding it were considered large, running through from one street to another. The three daughters were handsome, attractive, and entertaining ladies. Winter being long and dull, these young ladies would invite a lady friend or two to spend it with them. In the winter of 1808–9, Miss Marianne Lasalière (my mother) visited them. The July following, one of the daughters was married and went to Europe to make her home there. My mother was also married in the same month, and she went to make her new home at Prairie du Chien. The two young ladies remaining now felt more lonely than ever, and desired greatly

[1] Mitchell was a surgeon in the British army, who married an Ottawa woman. He had been surgeon at Old Mackinaw, but soon after the Pontiac massacre moved to the island.—Ed.

the presence of some of their young lady friends to shorten the otherwise dreary winter days. In the winter of 1816–17 Miss Josette Laframboise visited them, and it was on this visit that she made the acquaintance of Capt. Benjamin K. Pierce, commander of Fort Mackinac, whom she afterwards married.

In addition to this home, Mrs. David Mitchell owned and cultivated a large farm on the southwest side of the island. It might be called a hay farm, as hay was the principal and always a large crop. Hay was a very expensive article at Mackinac, at that time. It was customary for men to go to the surrounding islands, mow what grass they could among the bushes, remain there until the hay was cured, then return for boats to convey it to Mackinac. Potatoes were also largely cultivated by Mrs. Mitchell, and "Mackinac potatoes" were regarded as the choicest in this part of the country. Oats and corn were also raised. An attempt was made to raise fruit trees, but with small success; these did better in town. The farm house was comfortable-looking, one story in height, painted white, with green blinds; a long porch ran across the front. This house stood in about the center of the farm, far back from the road. The farm was noted also for its fine springs. Then there was Mrs. Mitchell's garden, which lay between the bluff, or hill, and the lake; on one side lay the government garden, and on the other was "the point." It was a large plot, two or three acres in extent, and was entirely enclosed by cedar pickets five feet high, whitewashed, as were all enclosures at Mackinac. All vegetables that would grow in so cold a climate were cultivated. It was an every-day occurrence to see Mrs. Mitchell coming to inspect her garden, riding in her calash, a two-wheeled vehicle, being her own driver. When the old lady arrived the men would hasten to open the gate, then she would drive in; and there, in the large space in front of the garden beds, in the shade, the man would fasten the horse, while "my lady" would walk all over the grounds giving her orders. The refuse of this garden, the rakings, etc., were

carried to the shore and made a conspicuous dark spot, like an island on the white beach, which in later years grew into a considerable point and was covered with verdure.

Her speech was peculiar. English she could not speak at all, but would mix the French with her own language, which was neither Ottawa nor Chippewa. There were not many who could understand her; there was, however, one old man who had lived for a great many years with the family, who was a natural interpreter and seemed perfectly to comprehend her. And yet, she got along admirably in company. She had many signs that were expressive, and managed to make her wishes clear to the ladies. When her daughters were at home, her linguistic troubles vanished. She was quite large, tall, and heavy. Her dress was as peculiar as her conversation. She always wore black,— usually her dresses were of black silk, which were always made in the same manner. A full skirt was gathered and attached to a plain waist. There were two large pockets on the skirt, and she always stood with her hands in these. About her neck was a black neckerchief; on her head she wore a black beaver hat, with a modest plume at one side. There were ties, but nowhere else on the bonnet was ribbon used. This bonnet she wore day and night. I do not think she slept in it, but never did I know of any one who had ever seen her without it. She was an intelligent woman, with exceptional business faculties, although devoid of book-learning. Her skill in reading character was considerable. Such was the "Mistress of the manse."

The home became greatly changed, after the daughters were all married and had taken up their abode elsewhere. But on the arrival of the younger son from school, social life again awakened, and the former gayety of the house was revived. He gave many parties of all kinds, including card parties, which his mother particularly enjoyed, as she was an experienced whist player. He frequently gave dancing parties, which one of his lady neighbors — the wife of John K. Pierce, a brother of the president,— managed for him, his mother never assuming any care in regard to them.

Yet she was fond of social gatherings, and attended all that were given. When there was no card playing, she sat by and watched the dancing, and was always surrounded by a group of ladies and gentlemen. She must have been more attractive than my youthful eyes could perceive, for she received much attention. She kept many servants, who were in the charge of a housekeeper. It was said she knew not the use of a needle. Her youngest son was a gentleman of the world, though not at all wild. He spent as much money as he could, on the dear island home. The first winter after his return home, in 1823, he had two handsome horses, one black and the other white, which he drove tandem; it was an attractive turnout. He died poor.

Joseph Laframboise, a Frenchman, father of Josette Laframboise, dealt largely with the Indians. He was a firm, determined man, and moreover was especially devout, adhering to all the rites and usages of the Catholic Church. He was especially particular as to the observance of the *Angelus*. Out in the Indian country, timed by his watch, he was as faithful in this discharge of duty as elsewhere. Whenever in any town where the bells of his church rang out three times three,—at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the evening,—he and his family paid reverent heed to it. Madame Laframboise, his widow, maintained this custom as long as she lived, and it was very impressive. The moment the *Angelus* sounded, she would drop her work, make the sign of the cross, and with bowed head and crossed hands would say the short prayers, which did not last much longer than the solemn ringing of the bells.

In 1809, Laframboise left Mackinac with his wife and baby-boy (the daughter being at Montreal, at school) for his usual wintering place on the upper part of Grand river, in Michigan. They traveled in Mackinac boats, or bateaux. There were two boats, with a crew of six men to each. Their were also accompanied by their servants,—old Angelique, a slave, and her son, Louizon—all of whom made a large party. At the last encampment, before reaching Grand

river, Laframboise, while kneeling in his tent one night saying his prayers, was shot dead by an Indian, who had previously asked for liquor and had been refused. The widowed wife, knowing that she was nearer Grand river than her own home, journeyed on, taking the remains of her husband with her, and had them buried at the only town in that vicinity, which was near the entrance of the river — the present Grand Haven, Mich. Now was developed the unselfish devotion of her servant, Angelique, whose faithfulness was displayed in many ways through the deep affliction which had fallen upon her mistress. She greatly endeared herself to Madame Laframboise, and was ever after her constant companion in all journeyings, Madame becoming in time very dependent upon her; the tie that bound them together remained unbroken until the death of the mistress.

After Madame Laframboise had laid away her husband, she proceeded to her place of business. Here she remained until spring, trading with the Indians. Then she returned to Mackinac and procured a license as a trader, and added much to her already large fortune. In the course of that winter the Indians captured the murderer of Laframboise, and, bringing him to her, desired that she should decide his fate,— whether he should be shot or burned. Madame addressed them eloquently, referring, in words profoundly touching, to her dead husband, his piety, and his good deeds. Then, displaying in her forgiving spirit a most Christ-like quality, she continued: "I will do as I know he would do, could he now speak to you; I will forgive him, and leave him to the Great Spirit. He will do what is right." She never again saw that man.

Madame Laframboise would in June return with her furs to Mackinac. The servants whom she left in care of her home there, would have it in readiness upon her arrival, and here she would keep house for about three months and then go back to her work. Among these servants was one notably faithful, Geneviéve Maranda, who remained with her until her death.

Madame Laframboise was a remarkable woman in many ways. As long as her father, Jean Baptiste Marcotte, lived, his children, when old enough, were sent to Montreal to be educated. But she and her sister, Grandmother Schindler, did not share these advantages, they being the youngest of the family, and the father dying when Madame Laframboise was but three months old. Her mother was of chiefly blood, being the daughter of Ke-wi-na-quot (Returning Cloud), one of the most powerful chiefs of the Ottawa tribe. She had no book-lore, but many might be proud of her attainments. She spoke French easily, having learned it from her husband. All conversation in that day was as a rule held in French. Robert Stuart, a Scotchman, who was educated in Paris, used to say that her diction was as pure as that of a Parisian. She was a graceful and refined person, and remarkably entertaining. She always wore the full Indian costume, and there was at that time no better fur trader than she. She had both the love and respect of the Indians that her husband had had before her. She, indeed, had no fear of the Indians, no matter what their condition; she was always able to control them.

Now to return to Josette Laframboise's marriage to Capt. Benjamin K. Pierce, commandant of Fort Mackinac (and brother of the President). This marriage took place at the home of a great friend of the young lady's. An officer's widow, in writing her husband's military life, speaks of his being ordered to the command of Captain Pierce, at Fort Mackinac, in 1816, and says that the captain there met a half-breed girl whom he addressed and married. This "half-breed girl" was a highly educated and cultivated woman. Her graceful demeanor was a charm. She was small in person, a clear brunette with black eyes and very black, wavy hair. She was both handsome and agreeable. What wonder was it, that a young man should be won by so winsome a maiden?

In May, 1817, Madame Laframboise arrived in Mackinac by bateau with her furs. She then hired a birch-bark canoe and Indian crew to take her to Montreal, where she went

to place her boy in school. Her daughter was to be married that summer, but had to await her mother's return. As soon as the mother did return, the wedding took place. As Madame could not have time to open her house and make preparations at that late date, the home of Mrs. Mitchell, previously mentioned, was insisted upon, by her whole family, as being the place for the wedding. The friendship between the families was sincere, and in this home, famed for its handsome weddings, another was added to the list. To this wedding, none but the officers and families of the garrison, and only two families of the town, were invited. The mother and aunt (Madame Schindler) were present in full Indian costume.

After the marriage, the captain took his wife to the fort, and Madame Laframboise departed to resume her winter's work. Mrs. Pierce did not live long. She died in 1821, leaving two children. The son did not long survive his mother. Captain Pierce was ordered from Mackinac that winter. The following spring he came for his daughter, Harriet. From that date, Madame Laframboise closed her business with the American Fur Company, and remained at home. She at this time left her old house and went into that which Captain Pierce had, with her means, built for her. Both houses are yet standing. I have stated that Madame Laframboise was a remarkable woman. When she was between forty and fifty years of age, she taught herself to read. It was no indifferent piece of work either, as she became able to read any French book she could obtain. She was a devoted Catholic, and worked for the church as long as she lived, greatly to the satisfaction of the poor, for whom she did much. It had been her practice to take girls, or any young woman who had had no opportunity to receive instruction in church matters, and have them taught by persons whom she herself hired. In this way she began to teach herself. It was not long before she could instruct children in their catechism. It was through her, mainly, that the priest was supported. Among her gifts to the church at Mackinac was the lot on which the church now

stands, and she and her daughter lie buried beneath that edifice.[1]

The former home of Madame Laframboise was within a few rods of the home of her sister, Madame Schindler. The pleasures of that home for the few weeks she remained there, are vividly recalled; yet they were pleasures that one can hardly understand at the present time. The pleasures of past times cannot readily be made real in the minds of the younger generation. There being no children at Madame's home, and being fond of her sister's grandchild,[2] she begged that the little girl might stay with her while at Mackinac, to which they all agreed. But as she was an only and a spoiled child, it turned out that she had more than one home during that summer. The child was a precocious one, and afforded much amusement to her great-aunt. Old Angelique petted the little one greatly, and yet essayed to teach her some of the kinds of work in which she was proficient. Among the lessons imparted was that of waxing and polishing furniture. No one could tell who was the prouder, teacher or pupil. Angelique lived to see and play with the children of this petted and only child. She was an excellent housekeeper; she died at the residence of her son, François Lacroix, who had married and moved to Cross Village,[3] where his descendants now live. When he became of age, Madame Schindler gave him his freedom. His younger brother, Louizon, married, and with his family left Mackinac in a schooner in 1834, to go to Grand river. The vessel was wrecked on the way and all on board were lost. Angelique's daughter, Catishe, lived to be an old woman. She was the nurse of the spoiled child.

Madame Laframboise lived in her new home for several years. It was there that I and my children were made happy in after years. To visit at that home, also, came Madame's grand-daughter, Miss Harriet Pierce, who after-

[1] See sketch of Madame Madeline Laframboise in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 373, 374.— Ed.

[2] Mrs. Baird here refers to herself.— Ed.

[3] L'Arbre Croche; now Harbor Springs, Mich.— Ed.

wards married an army officer. She, too, died young. Her daughter, who is still living, is the wife of an officer in the army. The son, who was placed at school at Montreal, came home in due time and became a fur trader, married out in the Western country, and died there about 1854, leaving a large family. Madame Laframboise died April 4, 1846, aged 66 years.

At the same early period in which occurred the foregoing events, there lived at Mackinac Joseph Bailly, a Frenchman — and a fur trader, of course — who was living with his second family. Belonging to a distinguished family at Montreal, he had been well educated, yet his nature remained unchanged. He was not gentle, not coarse, but noisy. One was never at a loss to locate him, no matter what part of the island might contain him. His loud laughter and speech always betrayed his whereabouts. He was an exceptionally good-natured man, fond of entertaining his friends.

At one time he had an Indian wife and two children, a son and a daughter. After a time he left this family and took another Indian wife: a widow with one daughter, the latter's father being an Indian. Bailly had, by the second wife, four daughters, besides the step-daughter. All of these children he had had educated except the step-daughter. The daughter of the first wife, and two of those belonging to the second wife, attended the school which my mother opened for the children of the fur-traders. Bailly's son was sent to Montreal to school, and returned a few years later a pompous man and a great dandy. He entered the American Fur Company's employ as a clerk, and lived at Prairie du Chien. He afterwards married a Miss Faribault, of a promnent family in Minnesota. All the children of the elder Bailly turned out well, and in the course of time he was legally married to the second wife. An Indian of unalloyed blood, who had been very little among the white people, she was a good woman, and possessed the gift so much prized among her people — that of a good story-teller. Her stories quite surpassed the "Arabian Nights"

in interest; one could have listened to her all day and never tired. They were told in the Ottawa language; perhaps they might not have been so interesting in any other.

But it is of the step-daughter I have the most to tell. She developed into a superior woman, and was pretty. She retained her mother's style of dress. The step-father was kind to her, yet it never seemed to occur to him to give her the education that was bestowed upon the others. She was fair-complexioned for an Indian, although her eyes were very black, and her hair equally so and of the thickest and longest. She was about seven years of age when her mother married Bailly, and when she began to know people other than her own, Madame Laframboise converted her to the Catholic faith. In the course of time there came to the island of Mackinac, a young man from the East, who was of an old and honored family of Philadelphia. He was a brother of Nicholas Biddle, president of the United States Bank during the administration of Andrew Jackson, and a relative of Commodore Biddle.

Edward Biddle became very much attached to this Indian girl. The attachment warmed into a sincere love on both sides. He did not know her language, neither did she understand his; but love needed no tongue. In 1819 they were married at her step-father's home. The ceremony was performed by the notary public, Samuel Abbott, who for years was the only functionary there invested with the necessary authority for that purpose.

Would that my pen might do justice to this wedding! It was most picturesque, yet no one can fully understand its attractiveness and novelty without some description of the style of dress worn by the bride and others of the women: a double skirt made of fine narrow broadcloth, with but one pleat on each side; no fullness in front nor in the back. The skirt reached about half-way between the ankle and the knee, and was elaborately embroidered with ribbon and beads on both the lower and upper edges. On the lower, the width of the trimming was six inches, and on the upper, five inches. The same trimming extended up the

overlapping edge of the skirt. Above this horizontal trimming were rows upon rows of ribbon, four or five inches wide, placed so near together that only a narrow strip of the cloth showed, like a narrow cord. Accompanying this was worn a pair of leggins made of broadcloth. When the skirt is black, the leggins are of scarlet broadcloth, the embroidery about three inches from the side edge. Around the bottom the trimming is between four and five inches in width. The moccasins, also, were embroidered with ribbon and beads. Then we come to the blanket, as it is called, which is of fine broadcloth, either black or red, with most elaborate work of ribbon; no beads, however, are used on it. This is worn somewhat as the Spanish women wear their mantles. The waist, or sacque, is a sort of loose-fitting garment made of silk for extra occasions, but usually of calico. It is made plain, without either embroidery of ribbon or beads. The sleeves snugly fit the arm and wrist, and the neck has only a binding to finish it. Beads enough are worn around the neck to fill in and come down in front. Silver brooches are worn according to taste. The hair is worn plain, parted in the middle, braided down the back, and tied up again, making a double *queue*. At this wedding, four such dresses appeared — those of the bride, her mother, Madame Laframboise, and Madame Schindler.

Bailly himself was more noisy than ever, over this marriage. He was a vain man, and proud of his step-daughter; such a marriage and connection was more than he could bear quietly. Not long after he removed from the island, but made occasional visits there.

The newly married pair settled at Mackinac. They occupied one house for a few months, then moved into that which was their home for about fifty years, and where they both died. Three children were born to them. The eldest child, a daughter, was a beautiful girl. When old enough, her father sent her to the home of his brother, Nicholas Biddle, at Philadelphia. There they took as much care in securing an education for her as if she had been their own. She came home to the island, to spend her vacations.

When she had finished her education, she returned to stay. Then the unhappiness of the family began. Miss Sophia Biddle was handsome, with elegant manners. Her father was rich and she had many admirers; among them, Lieutenant Pemberton, who afterwards, as Lieutenant-general Pemberton of the Confederate army, surrendered to General Grant at Vicksburg.

During the absence of Miss Biddle at Philadelphia, there arose on the island a most strange turmoil. In this wise it developed: in 1823–24, the Protestant Mission House was established as an Indian school, which many attended. Ottawa and Chippewa women were taken as servants and taught to work. The teachers were from the New England States. For a while the school seemed to prosper, but soon the efforts of the teachers were diverted to another channel. Proselyting seemed to pervade the atmosphere of the whole establishment. Every one seemed to feel it her duty to make a convert daily. For a while the Presbyterians had full sway; then the Roman Catholics took a decided stand against them. Certainly both denominations carried the feeling to great extent. It really seemed a religious war. One had to be either a Presbyterian or a Roman Catholic, in those days; nothing else would for a moment be tolerated. This state of things lasted for several years. Finally, annoyed beyond endurance, some of the military would no longer suffer this religious contention, and called an Episcopal minister to serve as chaplain. Mackinac thereupon settled into a state of peace, and was again a pleasant place to live in and to visit.

It was during the height of this excitement that Miss Biddle returned home. She had many friends on both sides; each felt sure of securing her, and between the opposing powers she was positively persecuted and rendered unhappy. The advantages she had received proved harmful. The foolish girl was ashamed of her blood and could not bear to have strangers see this dear, good mother of hers, because she was an Indian. Both father and mother perceived her feeling with pain. Mr. Biddle was strongly

attached to his wife and children, and the unfortunate mood of this daughter filled him with sorrow. At this time the Presbyterians felt that Miss Biddle would identify herself with them, as every one saw she would not walk to church with her mother, and felt confident she would go away entirely from her. But another force was now brought to bear upon the young woman. The Catholics had the best among the priests, that they could procure, come to the island and labor in earnestness with her. Her friends, too, were powerful, and Madame Laframboise was one of those who worked hard to win her back. Their labors were not in vain, and the child returned to her mother's church, greatly to the delight of all the Catholics and her family.

As in this world happiness is so transient, soon was that of this reunited household threatened. The young woman's constitution began to fail. Ill health seemed only to heighten her charms, as day by day she grew more and more winsome. Her malady, consumption, lasted nearly two years, and when she died it was in full faith of her religion, beloved by all who knew her.

Mr. Biddle sent his son to Gambier College, Ohio, where he became a member of the Protestant Episcopal church. He died in March, 1886. The youngest child, now a widow, with a widowed daughter and a married son, owns the old homestead at Mackinac.

While Madame Schindler was yet a young woman, living at St. Joseph, Mich., she met a young man from Kentucky, James Tanner by name, who was in search of his brother, who had been stolen by the Indians. Madame Schindler became very much interested in the case, and telling her Indian relatives and friends, their interest in turn was enlisted, and they promised to be on the lookout for the lad.

Years passed on and yet no tidings of the boy — now a man if living — reached the brother, who, in his search, traveled far and wide. About the year 1819, he found himself at Hudson Bay, where he visited in turn all of the Indian villages. Finally he arrived at an encampment at

Selkirk Settlement, just above Winnipeg, on the Red River of the North, which had recently received large additions by the arrival of Indians from the interior. This encampment consisted of Crees and Chippewas. Impelled by some strong motive, Tanner was especially attracted here. He at first rode on horseback through the encampment, so as to attract observation and to be able to see all who were there. As he rode along he observed some children at play, and noticed in particular one little girl, who had grey eyes. Mentally marking the surroundings, he next day, with an interpreter, sought the child, whom he again found at play. He asked her name. She said it was "Martha," or as she called it "Matta." He further inquired "Martha — who?" That she could not say. In response to the question where she lived, she pointed to a wigwam. Her father, she said, was out hunting.

Can any one imagine the feelings that overpowered this man as he awaited the return of the father of that family? He said afterwards that he really believed his search was about ended. The following day, still with the interpreter, he again went to the camp but the hunter had not returned. On the third visit he found a very large man stretched on a mat, at one side of the wigwam, dressed in complete Indian attire, and not bearing the least resemblance to a white. He merely glanced at the door-way when the two men entered, taking no more notice of them than would any Indian. Tanner had a conviction that this was his brother—the lost boy. He walked up to him, and extending his hand, which the owner of the wigwam took, James exclaimed, "My brother!" The other did not of course understand this, but when the interpreter repeated it, he looked up and shook his head. James asked him his name. He answered "John," but could not give any surname. James said, "John Tanner is your name." This the hunter asked to have repeated. When he again heard it he replied, "Yes, that is my name." Then James asked him if he "did not remember his sister Martha?" He replied, "I named my child for her." Then John began to believe what had

been told him about the relationship existing between the two; yet did not seem entirely to comprehend the matter. It was with difficulty that James could impress upon his brother the value of his discovery. The latter remembered that he had been stolen by the Indians, and recognized that he was now found by his brother; but thought that was the end of it all. When James began to talk about his returning home with him, on account of the children, John felt that his brother was meddling with that which was none of his business. It was a long time before he would even listen to this plea. James remained for days, endeavoring to persuade John to return with him to the old home. To these persuasions he replied: "I suppose there are no hunting grounds there." He did not "want his boy to live like a woman." To be a man he must first kill a man, but that he could not do if he lived with the whites. He would be deprived of too many privileges. In a few more moons he would take him to a buffalo hunt. Stag and deer and all kinds of small game were plenty; he would have a chance to become a good hunter. But with the whites he would have to live like a woman; never to touch a gun. He would have to dress like a white man — put on trousers, wear a hat, and tell lies. "I do not want him to live in that manner. I wish him to be a man and warrior. As for the girls, if they go with the whites they will never be good for anything. They can never go to the hunt and bring home the game. They will never have to chop wood, or carry any load in moving. Yet, this does not make so much difference. A woman is a woman anywhere."

The son of John Tanner was named James, and was a fair representative of his sire. He, like his father, seemed to be a perfect Indian in nature. He looked like one, for he resembled his mother, who was very dark and plain; she grew to be a most excellent woman, when taught the difference between good and evil. Mary, the eldest child, resembled a Kentuckian more than an Indian. She must have inherited many traits from her father. She possessed vastly more of white blood than of red. Martha, though

possessing the grey eyes of the white people, was much of an Indian when small, but education made her a perfect lady. She strongly resembled her mother in appearance.

James Tanner at times grew dispirited, feeling that his efforts to restore his brother and family to civilization were in vain. John would not at first harken to any change in his plans of life. Then James proposed to take the children home with him and place them in school. But that was quite too much for an Indian to entertain for a moment; he would not go himself nor would he permit the children to go. James remained at the encampment between three and four months, working for this one object. He lived as near his brother as he could, and tried to tame him. His efforts at last prevailed, and John promised to go back with him to the old Kentucky home, which he eventually did.

In 1820, John Tanner, with his wife and three children, left Selkirk Settlement in a birch-bark canoe. I know not how long they were on their way, but in July they arrived in Mackinac, with an infant only a few days old. They pitched their wigwam on the beach opposite my grandmother's home. She, as was her wont, went to see who had arrived. It was a custom for each one in whose neighborhood a tent or wigwam was placed, to go at once to see who had come — friend or foe? The newcomers proved to be the Tanner family. All were well except the woman, who looked very weary. Grandmother then entered the wigwam, apologizing for so doing (it is not customary nor allowable to do anything more than to look in, but an apology is necessary if one enters the wigwam), saying she would like to be of some assistance to the mother, if she would be permitted. The man replied, "She will soon be better, as I intend to rest here awhile." As they were Chippewas and seemed to be going up the lake, grandmother asked him whither they were bound? He replied, "To Kentucky, to join my brother." Whereupon a conversation ensued which brought out the whole story. After talking a while he said, "Are you the woman my brother told me to look for when I reached Mackinac? He said if

I could find you, you would help us out of our trouble. He expressed a desire to see you after he found us, but could not conveniently do so as he had to go through Canada." From that day, John Tanner's family became a charge to my grandmother and my mother. As this family of wanderers were from the interior of the Indian country, their dress, their language, and demeanor were crude. They were, too, quite innocent. Even on the island of Mackinac, they were a curiosity.

The day following his arrival, Tanner called on my grandmother, dressed like a white man. He had laid aside his Indian dress, never again to resume it. The little girls were still dressed in the wildest savage costume, and the baby was strapped to an Indian cradle, or board. John's dress was a suit of clothes which his brother had left him the year before. As James was the shorter man of the two, the trousers were quite short for John, who seemed not to know it. He wore moccasins, and tied the upper part around his ankles where the pantaloons gave out. The sleeves of the coat were also too short; that, too, seemed a matter of indifference. James little knew how grotesque he made his brother appear when, in response to his request, the latter doffed his "easy robes" for these uncomfortable garments of civilization.

Not long after his arrival at Mackinac, John called on my grandmother and mother, to talk over his trials. His wife refused to go further with him. She perfectly detested the manner in which he wished her to live, and desired only to go back to her friends. The only mark of affection her husband ever displayed was his unwillingness to have her take the young child back among the Indians. "La Sauteuse" was stubborn, and would not yield to his persuasion. John wished the ladies to take the child and keep it until it was three years old, when he would return for it. This they would not consent to; for, being somewhat advanced in life, they did not wish to assume such a charge. It was never a settled question whether the love for the child or a desire to punish the mother was the most prominent feature

in the case. Certain it is he left no means untried to accomplish his aim. At last, moved by a spirit of charity, the ladies consented to take the child, an indenture was drawn up by the proper parties, and the little one was adopted by my grandmother. The mother made a promise to remain by the child a year, and then she was to return to her own friends. As it turned out, she remained twelve years.

As the household into which the child had been received was Roman Catholic in faith, the first thing to be done was to have the child baptized. There being no priest on the island, she had to receive lay baptism, which was administered by Grandfather Schindler. Here is a copy of a paper which shows how and when it was done:

> On this 4th day of August, 1820, Lucy Tanner, aged sixteen days, has received lay baptism from George Schindler, Mackinac, Michigan.
>
> Thérese Schindler } Marraine [godmother].
> George Schindler } Parrain [godfather].

After the little one was disposed of, the family broke up their wigwam home, never to return to such a life again. Tanner departed with his three children, hiring a man to replace the wife at the paddle. With this feeble crew, in a birch-bark canoe, they journeyed on, going by way of Chicago. From there they went down the Illinois river to the Mississippi, thence up the Ohio river. I do not know where he abandoned his canoe; but it ought to have been preserved and kept for exhibition. A canoe which made the journey from Lake Winnipeg to Kentucky, ought to have been kept. But all this happened before the days of museums.

The children were placed in a Kentucky school, but, not understanding the English language, they did not learn quickly, very much to the discouragement of those most concerned. The father never learned to talk like a white man, although he became an interpreter for the United States government; he talked Chippewa as well as any Indian of the tribe.

Some time after their arrival in Kentucky, Mary, the eldest daughter, died. This seemed to unsettle the father, and

after an interval of two years he returned to Mackinac with his two children, whom he placed at school, and he prepared to go to Sault Ste. Marie to live. He asked his wife to accompany him. She had been taught, in the meantime, that if she lived with him again she must be legally married. This was something he could not or would not understand. He said he had married her as they were all married in the Indian country, and she was his wife. The woman had received instruction in the Catholic faith, and was developing into a sincere Christian character. My grandmother and mother had taught her to earn her own living. She had gone to housekeeping near the former's home. Her love for the father of her children was even more potent than her religion, and, believing that he would eventually marry her, she received him at her new home. She had two more children by him, and then finding he was still of the same opinion on the legality of their marriage, she separated entirely from him, and lived the life of a good, Christian woman to the last.

Some time after Tanner had returned to Mackinac, finding he could not induce his wife to go with him, he went away; whither, no one knew for three years. The lady with whom he had left his children, at the close of this period found she could no longer keep them. The authorities had to take them in charge, and have them bound out. Martha was bound to Lieut. John K. Pierce. James, jr., was bound to a blacksmith. A few months after this was done, Tanner returned. He was much annoyed to find his children so situated, for he was haughty. It was then learned that he had gone back to the Red River region, where he had found employment as a hunter and fur-trader. He came back with sufficient money for all of their wants. He never was known to do anything for the child he gave away, either at this time or any other. Lucy became the pet of the family in the household of Madame Schindler, and turned out a nice girl. In due time she became quite a scholar. Her only school advantages were those received at the

boarding school, which my mother kept for the fur-traders' daughters. She, however, made the most of these.

When my mother engaged in the translation of the prayer book and certain portions of the Bible into the Indian language, she entered a mission at Grand River (now Grand Haven, Mich.) that she might have access to the books she needed. Finding that she would have to spend the winter there, she rented a small house and went to housekeeping, sending for her mother and Lucy to remain there with her until she finished her work. To this proposition my grandmother consented. Renting her own house, she and Lucy prepared for the journey. When ready and waiting for a steamer, Lucy asked if she might be permitted to remain in Mackinac for a few weeks to visit with her mother. She would then accompany Lacroix, who expected to go with his family by the schooner to Grand River, intending to spend the winter there. To this request, grandmother gave a reluctant consent, and with her maid Catishe went on to Grand River. The schooner was due there in October, but never arrived. The winter was a sad one for the entire household. In the spring, at last the tardy news came that the vessel had been wrecked and all on board lost. My grandmother and mother returned to their island home the following summer.

John Tanner remained at Sault Ste. Marie with his children. He retained the position of Indian interpreter until his death. This was due to the influence of his brother James, and of Henry R. Schoolcraft, who was a great friend of John's. At last the home was broken up by his children leaving him, because they could no longer live with him. He lived the life of a heathen. He never would hear religion discussed; he was cruel to a degree, and in many respects seemed worse than an Indian, as he combined the faults of the two races. He finally died, some time in the forties, while on a drunken bout.[1]

[1] See *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner during Thirty Years' Residence among the Indians, prepared for*

In 1824, a bride of but fourteen years, I went with my husband to live in Green Bay, and thenceforth my lot was cast with the new and growing Territory west of Lake Michigan. On the 23d of June, 1825, we entered upon a return trip to Mackinac, by a Mackinac boat or bateau, the details of which may prove of interest.

Our route lay along the eastern coast of Green Bay and the northern shore of Lake Michigan. My husband was going to the island to attend court, and I to visit my relatives. Judge Doty had gone there by schooner, some time before. We took passage on one of a fleet of six boats laden with furs, belonging to the American Fur Company, and in charge of my brother-in-law, Joseph Rolette, of Prairie du Chien. Having attended a wedding ceremony in the afternoon, it was so late when we reached the boats, in waiting by the river-side, that at first it seemed hardly worth while to start that day. Yet the men were all in their places, which was always the experience in the days when there was no whistle or bell to call them to duty, and it was prudent to start when they were secured; otherwise, the grog shops might entice them away.

In each of the boats there were seven men, six to row and a steersman, all being Frenchmen. There was, in addition, in each boat, a clerk of the American Fur Company, to act as commander, or *bourgeois*. The furnishing of these boats, each thirty feet long, was quite complete. The cargo being furs, a snug-fitting tarpaulin was fastened down and over the sides, to protect the pelts from the rain. This cargo was placed in the center of the boat. A most important feature of the cargo was the mess basket, one of the great comforts of the past days, and a perfect affair of its kind. It was well filled with everything that could be procured to satisfy both hunger and thirst, such as boiled ham, tongue, roast chickens, bread, butter, hard or sea biscuit, crackers, cheese (when that luxury could be procured),

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the press by Edwin James, M. D. (New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1830). James was post surgeon at Mackinac, in 1827, and was the editor of *Major Long's Expedition.*— Ed.

tea, coffee, and chocolate, pickles, etc., and abundance of eggs. Then there were wines, cordials, and brandy. All this the mess baskets held; yet in addition, we depended upon securing fresh game and fish on the way. Rolette was a generous provider, sending to St. Louis for all that this part of the world could not supply. The mess basket on this occasion seemed to have an extra supply of eggs. It seemed strange that such faithful workers as the men were, should have been fed so poorly. They had nothing but salt pork, *lyed* corn, and bread or biscuit. This was the general food of workmen in the fur trade. It was the custom, when a man wished to enter the employ of any one, to put the manner of living in the indenture.[1] Our boat carried two tents, and had a cot bed and camp stool for my use.

The party in our boat consisted of Rolette (the head man), John Kinzie, my husband, and myself. One of the other boats was in the charge of Edward Ploudre, another in charge of Jean Baptist Mairand; Monsieur Eustubise was in charge of the fourth boat. I have forgotten the names of the *bourgeois* of the two remaining craft.

Starting so late in the day, we were only enabled to get as far as the Red Banks, before it was time to stop and camp for the night. As I stepped from the boat, I saw that my tent was almost ready for me, so quickly did these men arrange matters for the encampment.

Next morning dawned most gloriously, and we started off in our boats, after breakfast, in fine spirits, cheered and enlivened by the merry song of the boatmen, who always start with a song. The day was charming, there was no wind, and the men rowed as if it were a pleasure. This was indeed a delightful way to travel; keeping always within easy reach of shore, in case of a sudden squall or violent wind.

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[1] See the numerous examples of such contracts, among the MSS. of this Society; some of them are cited in Turner's valuable monograph, "The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin," *Proc. Wis. Hist. Soc.*, 1889.—Ed.

The camping hour is always hailed with gladness by the men, strange as it may seem, as it came at the close of a hard day's work. It seemed always to be another pleasure of the voyage, and was an agreeable change to passengers as well as men. The men would pitch the tent with rapidity, in front of it quickly kindle a fire, and then immediately prepare the meal, which was greatly enjoyed. Then, all being refreshed, came the time for sports, merriment, and fun of all kinds.

As we rowed away from the Red Banks on that most charming June morning, many were the amusements that followed each other. The boats would sometimes come near enough to allow an interchange of conversation, jest, and play. This began that morning, by the throwing of hard tack at each other. This, however, did not last long, the prospect of needing the biscuits, later, serving to save them. Our boat had at first shared in the contest, but on my account they soon desisted. Shortly after the war of the biscuits ceased, we began to see eggs flying in the air, and a very pretty sight they made too. The men entered fully into the fun, although the oarsmen did not dare slack their oars. They gave vent, however to their enjoyment by a *cri de joie*, fairly quivering with excitement. It was about as animated a contest as any these men had ever witnessed or expected to. Not to spoil the fun, I crawled under the tarpaulin, where I was comparatively safe, although an occasional egg would strike me on the head. Rolette — an irritable old man — tried his best to stop the battle, but the fun was too fierce to be readily given up, and on a pretence of not hearing their commander's order they kept on with the fight.

At the second *pipe* or rest, we left the boat for a ramble, as a beautiful beach made walking a delight. Although not dinner-time, Rolette ordered an early meal, so that we might take another walk. He directed the men, after their meal, to start on with the boats, telling them where to encamp. Pointing to a bit of land that projected into the

bay, which did not seem very far away, he said, "You may encamp just past that point. We will walk; be sure and have supper ready." Barrette, Rolette's serving-man, remained with us. Rolette never went unattended, as he was a very helpless person.

We sat awhile when we had dined, then started off on our walk. The fleet of boats presented a handsome appearance, disappearing and reappearing with the inequalities of the shore. We had not walked far when we came to a bluff which extended into the bay, and which was perfectly perpendicular. There was no path around it, none over it, and the water at its base was deep. What was I to do? Good Barrette immediately said he could carry me; and he did so. How I pitied him. The distance around the bluff was several yards. When we had doubled the promontory and got upon dry land, we stopped to rest. Starting off again we soon came to a small stream, narrow but deep. It had not been observed by the men in the boats, owing to the rushes. Now, what was to be done? The crew were out of sight, hidden by the point of land at first mentioned, and consequently were out of hearing. But the same faithful servant again undertook the task of carrying me, although the water was now quite deep — too deep for my husband to be of any assistance to me, as he was a short man. Mr. Kinzie, being taller, walked beside us and held my feet out of the water. The gentlemen were up to the armpits in the stream, which fortunately was narrow.

We soon after met some of the other gentlemen of our party coming to meet us, and were not long in reaching the encampment, which looked very inviting. The tents were pitched, my cot all ready for a good rest, a bright fire at a little distance, and supper ready.

But in the mean time a storm was brewing, another egg storm! As we arrived at the camp, we all noticed the strange appearance which Edward Ploudre presented. He had on white duck pantaloons and a frock coat, and had

both pockets filled with eggs, which he had provided for a second battle and fancied his coat would conceal. But the keen eyes of both Mr. Kinzie and Mr. Baird were too much for him, as was their fleetness, for they immediately set in pursuit of him, and when they caught him slapped his pockets until the eggs were broken and the contents ran in a stream down his pantaloons and white stockings, and into his low shoes. The men laughed until exhausted. Then there was another call for more eggs, and another fight ensued, which only ceased for want of ammunition. Never did any one ever enter with greater zest into any sport than did the gentlemen on this occasion. However, at last quiet was restored and we found ourselves with good appetites for supper, and soon after retired to refreshing sleep. The next morning the field of battle presented a strange appearance, strewn as it was with egg-shells, and many were the regrets expressed that the ammunition was exhausted.

Before leaving the shore, speeches befitting the occasion were made by most of the gentlemen, and the place was formally christened "Egg Harbor," the name it has ever since borne.

Occasionally, as we coasted along the east shore of Green Bay, we would, when it presented an inviting appearance, take other walks along the bank. The men always took pains to secure a handsome spot for the pipe or rest. The tent was scarcely ever pitched for dinner except in wet weather.

As I do not remember distances from point to point, I will not attempt to give each day's travel. The names of some of the islands have been changed since our trip in 1825; and many more that in that day had no names, have since been christened. Then we knew by names, only Washington Island, the Beavers, — Big and Little, — Chambers, Manitou, Fox, Pottawattamie or Rock Island, formerly known as l'Ile de Pou, or Louse Island. Many were the beautiful spots we passed. Never were we obliged to

dine or encamp on the east shore at any spot not attractive.

One night we encamped at a place called Petit Detroit, which is not far from Death's Door. It is a small island, formed like a half-moon, the inner portion being a most beautiful harbor, with a high bank; and beyond this rise higher hills. The whole island was then a perfect garden of wild roses. Never have I at one time seen so many flowers of any kind, as I then saw. The charms of the place so attracted us that we made an early landing. The men had to clear a spot to pitch the tent, and in finishing their work they very thoughtfully decorated my tent with roses.

Here again, and indeed it was so each evening, the young men began to frolic. There were no more eggs for that kind of warfare, yet there seemed to be many articles to do battle with. As soon as supper was over, all the gentlemen of the party, except Rolette, went off for a walk over the hills. They were in the finest of spirits and so were the crew — the whole island seemed to respond to their glee. The boatmen, keeping to themselves, went off to the other side of the island. Soon we heard their laughter, and well we knew there was fun somewhere. In a little while we saw the gentlemen run towards the encampment and, laughing, go to each other's tents and, catching up anything they could lay their hands on, into the lake they tossed it. Each possessed a small feather bed, that with the bedding was rolled up in an Indian mat. Soon we saw these beds sailing off, and these were followed by coats, hats, etc. Mr. Kinzie was so engaged in the "pitch battle" that he did not see his own bed start. The others secured theirs while yet in reach. The beds usually fell in the water lengthwise, but Mr. Kinzie's went in on one end, which made it sail well. When at last he discovered his bed, outward bound, it was several yards from shore. He plunged into the water and had to swim, as the water was quite deep, before he reached it.

The boats are never unloaded, from the time they leave port until they reach their destination. This fleet of boats was originally loaded at Prairie du Chien, and then unloaded at the portage between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, where the men carried first the packs of furs on their backs, then returned for the boats, and reloading them would run down to the Big Chute, now Appleton. Here the boats again had to be unloaded, and the furs portaged around by the men. The boats, however, made the journey down the swift water, which was called "jumping the rapids," and was an interesting sight if one had nerve enough to look on. The unloading was repeated at Grand Kaukauna; but at Rapides Croche and at Rapides des Peres, now DePere, the loads would be carried through, all of the men walking in the water to guide the boats and their valuable loads. Our boats, it will be seen, were loaded for the last time at Kaukauna, not to be unloaded until they reached Mackinac.

We will return now to our last camping place at that charming island and harbor. After the gentlemen had played to their hearts' content, they retired to their moist beds. One would have thought they might all have taken cold, but not one word of complaint did I hear from any of them.

We now traveled slowly, waiting for a day which would show signs of being fine throughout, that we might make in safety "La Grande Traverse"—to cross the lake from the east shore to the west, or north. The crossing started from Rock Island. There were some scattered islands on the route, where shelter was sought in case of a storm or high wind. On the day we attempted the crossing, there was a slight east wind, strong enough to warrant the sails being hoisted. The wind at last dying away they were taken down, and it was with difficulty we reached our destined port. These boats carry but one sail — a square one. The mast is attached to the side of the boat, and when wanted is hoisted to its place and the sail put up. When in the

middle of the lake, a strange sight it was to see the boats arranged in a regular line, near each other, while the men took a rest. (The men never smoked except when ashore.) The boats floated gently on, carried by the current, and always guided by the steersman. The motion was a delightful one. We made a successful crossing, and the men were rewarded by a supper from our mess baskets, and a little extra grog. I have forgotten to mention that the crew each morning and evening received a gill of whiskey.

On our arrival at the other shore, we were no longer able to secure as fine camping grounds as those of the preceding days. As the gentlemen no longer could find a good play-ground, they devoted themselves to their books.

We were six days in making the journey from Green Bay to Mackinac, being wind-bound for twenty-four hours in a very dreary camping ground. I never have seen men so restless as were those of our party. They behaved like children; nothing pleased them. As for Rolette, he growled and scolded at the weather through the whole time we waited. The crew took the wisest course. They spread their blankets down and went to sleep, thus passing the greater portion of the time.

The following day was not all that could be desired; but as we were nearing our destination, we were willing to endure some discomfort for the sake of hastening on our way. We set sail, catching a little breeze that helped us along. While yet the whole crew were watching the signs of the weather, a sudden squall took us unawares and somewhat disturbed us. The sails were flapping, as the direction of the wind had changed. The boats were pitching, and Rolette, much frightened, was giving orders, which if followed would have swamped the boat. His final order was, "John! John! take down that mast! Saw it off with the ax!" In his fright he did not notice that each man was trying his best to take down the mast in each boat, so much did these imperil the craft.

All this time we were quite near shore. When peace was restored, John Kinzie (Chicago's first settler) came up to Rolette with a very sad and penitent-looking face, and said: "I am very sorry I disobeyed your orders, and I hope you will forgive me." Rolette looked him squarely in the face, and replied: "John, you rascal, how did you disobey me?" "In taking down that mast, sir, I did not *saw it off with the ax.*"

The day following the squall, we arrived at "Pointe a la Barbe"— the point where one shaves.[1] It is said this Point is so named from the fact that all *voyageurs* stopped there to shave and make themselves presentable upon their arrival at the "grand emporium of the West." We went on shore, giving our crew an opportunity to shave for the first time since we left Green Bay. Each man looked very well in his striped cotton shirt, blue pantaloons, red sash around the waist, and red handkerchief around the neck. Caps of all sorts they wore, but no hats. They purchased high hats when they reached Mackinac. Everybody then wore the hat since called the "stove-pipe."

The rest of the fleet stopped at the American Fur Company's landing, but our boat landed me opposite the residence of my grandparents. My happiness I cannot describe: it was soon turned to sadness, as before reaching the house I learned of my grandfather's serious illness. I had received but two letters from home in the past six months, and knowing I was to arrive in June, they had refrained from writing the painful news.

After court adjourned, my husband returned to Green Bay to attend to the house he was having built for us, and came back in August to Mackinac. We then returned to Green Bay, reaching there on October 28th, 1825. We went by schooner, bringing with us a little daughter of six

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[1] Capt. D. H. Kelton, editor of *Annals of Mackinac*, says that this is purely speculative. He affirms that the Point is so named because of the peculiar curvature of its shore.— Ed.

weeks, baptized by the name of Eliza Ann: but named by our Indian relatives, Waubunoqua (Early Morn).

My dear mother accompanied us back, to see me safely home, although she had to return in the same vessel on account of my grandfather's alarming illness. His death occurred three weeks after our departure from the dear old island.

FORT WINNEBAGO IN 1834.

Reduced photographic facsimile of oil painting made by Ira A. Ridgeway, of Portage, in 1896, based with great care on contemporary plans, and recollections of early settlers. The view is from the southwest. The building to the right of the gate is the guardhouse; to the left, the armory. On the opposite side of the square, to the left, were the officers' quarters. The peaked-roof building at the left corner was a blockhouse, and a similar structure was in the corner diagonally opposite. The magazine appears in the corner adjacent to the guardhouse, and at the side of it to the right were soldiers' quarters. The chapel was in the corner diagonally opposite the magazine, but is not visible; as is also the case with some of the other smaller buildings. The log building near the end of the bridge over the Fox river, to the right, was Henry Merrell's sutler's store. The low structure a little to the east of it, was the ice cellar. A little farther along was the surgeon's headquarters (a portion of which is still standing), and a little to the right of it was the hospital. In the distance, looking between the hospital and surgeon's quarters, may be seen the old stone bakery; the blacksmith shop and the carpenter shop were close by, but do not appear on the painting. At the left of the bridge is a commissary building, which is still standing; just in the rear of it was Jones's sutler's store, a portion of which only is discernible. Just beyond the fort, to the left (out of the above picture), was a log theatre. Still farther to the left, on an eminence, was the Indian Agency building.

THE HISTORY OF FORT WINNEBAGO.

BY ANDREW JACKSON TURNER.

To the present generation, old Fort Winnebago (at Portage) is a tradition. To the older citizens of our State, who recall its whitened walls as they appeared above the stockade that inclosed them, and who retain a vivid recollection of many of its appointments and environments, it is a reminiscence; very few there are, now living, who dwelt in the fort from its first occupancy, and who had an acquaintance with those of its garrison who were subsequently illustrious in military and civil life. Of such, some passed their earlier years at the fort in comparative obscurity, awaiting an opportunity to prove their mettle on the sanguinary field of conflict, but these afterward left their impress on the pages of history. Some of their names are still spoken; others who were here, of equal merit, are rarely or never mentioned, for the opportunity came not to them. Much that occurred here has been recorded in various public documents, volumes and papers, but nowhere, I believe, has it all been arranged in a convenient form. So the old fort may be said to have had a history, but no historian. It is not my purpose to attempt an exhaustive history of the fort; but rather to collate what has already been written, but which is so scattered as to involve great research on the part of the student who desires to know as much as possible of its origin and history. I have incorporated in my account some things not found in any published matter, which I have heard related from the lips of those who were there as early as 1830, and who knew its

innermost history. Some of it is of a minor character, but may possess sufficient local interest to warrant the recital.

Although the existence of the lead mines in Southwestern Wisconsin had been known for many years, it was not until about 1822 that they attracted general attention, when adventurers began coming in and commenced mining operations. The Indian title to the lands in that section had not yet been extinguished, or was in dispute; and in any event the Indians were authorized to remain upon them "as long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property." The lands had not been brought into market and were not even surveyed. Nevertheless, "permits" to enter upon the lands claimed by the Indians were issued by certain government officials. This naturally irritated the savages whose lands had been invaded. The conduct of the adventurers toward the aborigines was frequently coarse and brutal, and disturbances were the inevitable result. In them we find the inciting causes that led to the establishment of old Fort Winnebago — so called because the lead region, as well as the Fox-Wisconsin portage, was in the territory of the Winnebagoes.

In 1827, Joseph M. Street, the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, wrote to Governor Edwards of Illinois: "The Winnebagoes complained of the trespass of the miners, and the open violation of the treaty by the permits of Mr. Thomas, the agent. No notice was taken of it, and the diggings progressed. The Indians attempted force, which was repelled, and very angry feelings produced."

Col. Thomas L. McKenney, an officer in the regular army, who was superintendent of the Indian trade, also recorded his impressions of the condition of affairs in the lead regions, in this language: "The Winnebagoes were in a state of great excitement, caused by the intrusions of the whites on their lands. They had, after having remonstrated for a long time in vain, made up their minds to endure it no longer, and had so informed Mr. Courier, the sub-agent. A warning was circulated among the miners, who replied:

'We have a right to go just where we please.' Everything appeared threatening. Two thousand persons were said to be over the line, as intruders upon lands belonging to the Indians. The Indians had fallen back, and sent word to the sub-agent that they would see them no more — meaning, as friends. This overt act, this trespass upon their grounds, was the egg out of which the Black Hawk War was hatched. There was no necessity for that war, when, some four years after, it did break out."

For a time prior to 1826, Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, had been occupied by a detachment of United States troops. In October of that year they were ordered to Fort Snelling. When they left they took with them two Winnebagoes, who had been confined in the guardhouse for some supposed offense of a trivial nature. The following spring a rumor was in circulation, and generally believed, that the two Indians had been turned over to the Chippewas, their enemies, to run the gauntlet through a party of the latter tribe, armed with clubs and tomahawks, and that the race for life had resulted in the killing of both of them. Something like this occurred with reference to some Sioux prisoners at Fort Snelling, but the story had no truth as applied to the Winnebago captives. The report had its origin in the murdering of some Chippewas by a party of Sioux. Five of these Sioux were turned over to the United States forces at Fort Snelling to be dealt with by the Chippewas according to the aboriginal custom, and it was determined that they should run the gauntlet: the Chippewas being armed with rifles, instead of tomahawks and clubs, as stated in Smith's *History of Wisconsin* and some other accounts. The whole affair is graphically described by Mrs. Van Cleve,[1] who was an eye-witness of the

[1] Mrs. Charlotte Ouisconsin Van Cleve was born in Fort Crawford, July 1, 1819, and is said to have been the first white child born within the limits of Wisconsin. She is still living at Minneapolis, Minn. Her book of reminiscences, *Three Score Years and Ten* (Minneapolis, 1895), is an interesting publication, ranking with Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-Bun*, Folsom's *Fifty Years in the Northwest*, etc. Her description of the Chippewa gauntlet, alluded to above, is on pp. 74 et seq.

affair, in her little volume, *Three Score Years and Ten.* All of the Sioux were killed before reaching the goal.

Notwithstanding the falsity of the report, so far as it related to the Winnebagoes in confinement, it had its natural effect upon the disposition of our Indians, whose only creed is a life for a life; and it should not occasion surprise that it provoked retaliation and served to increase the difficulties which are the inevitable accompaniment of an advancing civilization. The whites, on the one hand, entertained nothing but contempt for "blanket Indians," strangely misjudged their disposition, and treated them as legitimate objects of plunder; the aborigines, on the other, sought to protect themselves in the only manner known to them, by taking revenge for imaginary or real wrongs, often committing excesses and cruelties in keeping with their savage nature.

And so we read at the present day, with horror, of the murders of the family of Methode, at Prairie du Chien, in 1827; of Rigeste Gagnier, and the scalping of his infant daughter by a noted Indian chief, Red Bird, and his accomplices of the Winoshic band. Of Red Bird and his subsequent dramatic surrender and death, I will speak further on.

As a component part of a general attack upon the whites, which doubtless had been planned, the keel-boat "Oliver H. Perry," returning from a trip to Fort Snelling with provisions for the troops at that station, was attacked by a band of Winnebagoes off the mouth of the Bad Ax, and a severe battle ensued, with a number of casualties on both sides.

He who reads Reynolds's *Life and Times* will find other explanations for the attack upon this boat, which would have justified almost any conduct upon the part of the Indians; but it is not my present purpose to attempt to locate the largest measure of blame for what was occurring. The idea will suggest itself, however, from the report of Maj.-Gen. Alexander Macomb (general-in-chief of the army) to the secretary of war the following year, stating that "from

the restlessness evinced by the Winnebagoes and other tribes in the Northwest, partly arising from intrusion upon land in the mineral district claimed by them to be within their boundaries, by white people, etc.," he had found it necessary to establish a new military post at the Fox-Wisconsin portage; that due regard was not being given to the rights of the real owners of the soil, and that the whites were not wholly blameless in these matters. However this may be, it had become apparent that an increased military force was necessary in this section. These occurrences have been referred to in historical works as the Winnebago "outbreaks," "disturbances," etc., and sometimes they are dignified as the Winnebago War.

Moses M. Strong, in his *History of the Territory of Wisconsin*, observes: "It may be thought that the results of this war are very meager for the amount of force employed in it. If measured by the amount of blood shed after the murders at Prairie du Chien and on the keel-boat, the criticism is very correct. But if it be intended to suggest that there was no sufficient reason for apprehending that the Winnebagoes contemplated a general uprising against and a massacre of the whites, the thought and suggestion are the result of great ignorance of the intentions of the Winnebagoes, and of the facts in the case. There is satisfactory evidence that the Pottawattomies were allied with the Winnebagoes, and that they were to fall upon and destroy the settlement at Chicago, and it is probable that but for the movements resulting from the efforts of General Cass, who was fortunately near the seat of war, the whole country would have been overrun with a general Indian outbreak."

It may be that this was an exaggerated view of what the Indians contemplated; but it appears clearly that there was abundant reason why General Macomb, in his report to the secretary of war in November, 1828, should have thought it necessary to establish a military post at the portage, which opinion was communicated to the secretary in the

following language: "From the restlessness evinced by the Winnebagoes and other tribes in the Northwest, partly arising from intrusion upon land in the mineral district claimed by them to be within their boundaries, by white people in search of lead; and in consequence of a belief entertained by these tribes, from the smallness of the military force in their neighborhood, in comparison with what it had been several years before, the government might not find it convenient to increase it, and they might therefore with impunity resume the depredations which had led to the establishment of those posts in the first instance; therefore it was found necessary to establish a new post at the portage between the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers and reoccupy Chicago. * * * In order to effect these changes, the first regiment furnished the garrison of the post at the portage of the Ouisconsin and Fox rivers, while it continued to occupy fort Crawford, at the Prairie du Chien, and fort Snelling, at the junction of the St. Peters with the Mississippi. The second regiment, which heretofore occupied the posts at the Sault de St. Marie, Green Bay, and Mackinac, moved down to occupy the posts of forts Gratiot and Niagara, the residue of the regiment being at Houlton Plantations. The fifth regiment, which was stationed with the sixth at the school of instruction at Jefferson barracks, relieved the second at Green Bay, Sault de St. Marie, and Mackinac, besides furnishing two companies for the garrison at Chicago. The march of the fifth regiment by the way of Ouisconsin and Fox rivers must have produced an imposing effect on the tribes of Indians through whose country it passed; an effect which was contemplated by the movement. It will be seen by the accompanying map of the distribution of the troops that there is a complete cordon from Green bay to the Mississippi, which must have a powerful influence over the Winnebagoes, and afforded protection to the Indian trade which passes in that direction; and there is every reason to believe that neither the Winnebagoes nor their confederates will attempt any

hostilities so long as the troops maintain their present positions."[1]

Executing the order of the secretary of war, the adjutant-general of the United States, under the direction of General Macomb, issued "Order 44," under date of August 19, 1828, which directed:

"The three companies of the First regiment of infantry, now at Fort Howard, to proceed forthwith under the command of Major Twiggs of that regiment to the portage between the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers, there to select a position and establish a military post.

"By command of Maj.-Gen. Macomb.

"R. JONES, Adjt.-Gen."

An additional reason for the establishment of the fort is given in the *History of Columbia County*, not referred to in the official reports, which may contain many grains of truth: "There was necessity for some means of protection to the fur trade from Winnebago exactions; * * * the general government at the solicitation of John Jacob Astor, who was then at the head of the American Fur company, and upon whose goods the Indians levied exorbitant tolls, authorized the erection of a post at portage."

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[1] As supplementary to and confirming General Macomb's report, the following extract is taken from the annual report of Peter B. Porter, secretary of war, November 24, 1828: "In the course of the last year the Winnebagoes and other Indian tribes living in the neighborhood of the posts which had been evacuated — emboldened probably by that circumstance — commenced a series of petty, but savage, warfare on the adjoining white population, and rendered it necessary to march a strong military force into the country, the effect of which was to quell, for a time at least, these disturbances. But in the course of the past spring and summer fresh symptoms of discontent and hostility were manifested by the Indians; and the people of Illinois, and more particularly the inhabitants of the lead mine district, became again so much alarmed as to suggest the necessity, not only of permanently garrisoning the former military post of Chicago and Prairie du Chien, but of establishing a new one in the center of the Winnebago country, for the purpose of watching the movements of the Indians, and to serve as a connecting link between the chains of fortifications on the Mississippi and on the lakes." See *Senate Docs.*, No. 1, 20th Cong., 2d sess., vol. i, pp. 17, 18, 26.— ED.

It is true that the company had a post there, and it may be that heavy tolls were exacted; it is quite as likely, however, that with all the tolls that may have been exacted, the Indians were getting the worst of it, for it is not recorded, as far as I know, that that gigantic monopoly ever suffered many losses in their trades with the Indians.

September 7 following, Maj. David E. Twiggs reported his arrival at the fort which was to be established, as follows:[1]

"FORT WINNEBAGO, September 7, 1828.

"SIR: I have the honor of reporting my arrival at the fort with my command this day. I have selected a position for the fort on the right bank of the Fox river, immediately opposite the portage. The Indians, I am told, are very much dissatisfied with the location of troops here; as yet I have not been able to see any of the chiefs, consequently cannot say with any certainty what their dispositions are.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"D. E. TWIGGS,

"Major First Infantry."

The site selected for the fort was occupied by Francis le Roy, but satisfactory terms were made with him for its occupancy by the government. Macomb's request to have the lands selected for the fort withdrawn from market, was made January 10, 1835, and was approved by President Jackson, February 9 of the same year.

Twiggs reported December 29, 1828, what had been done in the matter of temporary buildings, for the shelter of his command, prior to the construction of the fort buildings proper; the report is here given in full:

"FORT WINNEBAGO, 29 December, 1828.

"GENERAL: I have not received any instructions relative to the construction of the permanent garrison at this place.

[1] Morgan L. Martin, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 399, speaks of having met Maj. Twiggs at Butte des Morts, with three companies of soldiers in boats on their way to establish the garrison at Fort Winnebago. Jefferson Davis, just graduated at West Point, was one of his lieutenants.

After completing the temporary buildings I commenced procuring materials for the quarters, etc., and soon will have square timber enough for two blockhouses. I have (and will continue through the winter) six saws, sawing flooring, weather boarding and other lumber. We have about twenty thousand feet of all kinds, and hope by spring to have sufficient to complete the buildings. The sash, blinds, etc., will be ready before the end of February. There will be wanting three or four yoke of oxen, and as many carts, the shingles and lime can better be furnished by contract; all the other materials the command can procure; all the buildings had better be frame — logs cannot be had, and if they could, frame is cheaper and much better; all the timber has to be brought from nine to eleven miles, but if the carts and oxen are furnished, and the lime and shingles got by contract, I can with ease complete the garrison by next November. I would be pleased to hear from you on the subject as soon as convenient. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

" D. E. TWIGGS,
" Major First Infantry.

" *To Gen. A. Atkinson, Commanding.*"

The temporary barracks were constructed of logs obtained principally on what is known locally as Pine Island, about six miles west of Portage; they were probably a little east of the fort subsequently erected, and resembled the cabins which are always put up in logging camps for the use of the men; but nothing more definite concerning them is now obtainable. It is presumed that the instructions that Twiggs desired were not long delayed, for we know that active operations for the erection of the fort were soon in progress.

Lieut. Jefferson Davis, later the chieftain of the Confederacy, has recorded the fact that he went up the Yellow River, a tributary of the Wisconsin, some fifty miles distant, and got out the pine logs to be used in the construction of the fort, which were rafted down in the spring and hauled across the portage with teams and were wrought

into proper form with whipsaw, broadax, and adz.[1] Lumbermen still point out the foundations of Davis's dam, which was constructed for flooding out his rafts of timber for use in building the fort. Another party was detailed to get out the needed stone, of which a great quantity was used, at Stone Quarry Hill, the place where the most of the stone used in Portage for building purposes, has ever since been obtained. The bricks were manufactured near the present Wisconsin River bridge, at what we know as "Armstrong's brickyard." Lime was burned by another detail at or near Paquette's farm on the Bellefontaine, one of the best and most widely known farms in the State.[2]

An enormous well was sunk in the very center of the square, around which the usual fort buildings were constructed, and it has continued from its never-failing fountain, to contribute to the comfort of the thirsty pilgrim until the present day; but a modern windmill now does the duty that was formerly so tedious and irksome. So all hands were busy. Officers, who in after years became distinguished in the war with Mexico, the Florida and other Indian wars, and the great conflict involving the perpetuity of our Union, planned and wrought with the common soldier in bringing into form the fort and the necessary accompanying buildings. Stables, hospitals, bakeries, blacksmith shops, commissary buildings, ice-cellars (which were filled from Swan Lake), sutlers' stores, magazines, laundries, bathhouses, etc., rapidly sprang into existence. Gardens were also cleared, and old soldiers have recorded the fact that they could not be excelled in the matter of the quantity and quality of the vegetables produced. A theater was erected, and doubtless professional tragedians would have hidden their faces in confusion if they could have witnessed their own best efforts put to shame. A young lieutenant in the regular army, far removed from the confines of civilization, with the officers' wives and their guests, all cult-

[1] *Jefferson Davis — a Memoir, by his Wife* (N. Y., 1890), vol. i, pp. 80–82. See also, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 310.— Ed.

[2] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 402.— Ed.

ured ladies, for an audience, would undoubtedly do his best when *Macbeth* or some other equally hair-lifting tragedy was on the boards, in the full glare of the pitch-pine fagots blazing from the fireplace in the rear, and shedding their effulgent rays over the brilliant assemblage.

While all this was going on, regular military duty was not neglected, and drills and parades were indulged in of course; the stars and stripes were regularly given to the breeze at the roll of the drum at guard mounting, and lowered with the same accompaniment at retreat; morning and evening guns were sounded, the *reveille* called the soldiers to duty in the gray light of the morning, and "taps" sent them to retirement in the blue twilight of the evening.

In the regular course of military movements, some of the companies first doing duty here were transferred to different posts, and their places were taken by others; and so it happened that many whose names were enrolled on the scroll of fame in after years, were initiated into the science of war at Fort Winnebago. Perhaps the most prominent of them all was Lieut. Jefferson Davis, then subaltern of Capt. William S. Harney. To his honor, be it said, his services at Fort Winnebago were highly creditable. I have heard it remarked by those who knew him here, that he had no liking for the amusements to which officers, as well as private soldiers, resort to relieve the tedium of camp life; but that he was ever engaged, when not in active service, in some commendable occupation. His services in the lumber camps on the Yellow River, and his successful mission in bringing down fleets of lumber through the Dells of the Wisconsin, attest to his faithfulness as a soldier.

Next to Lieutenant Davis, should be mentioned Maj. David E. Twiggs, of the First Infantry, under whose immediate superintendence the fort was constructed, as already stated. Subsequently, Twiggs distinguished himself at the battle of Monterey, in the Mexican War. He was dismissed from the federal service in February, 1861, for surrendering the United States stores in Texas, before that State had seceded, and was a Confederate general for a time.

One of Twiggs's lieutenants here, was Captain Harney, who was brevetted a colonel for meritorious conduct in several engagements with hostile Indians in Florida, and became famous as an Indian fighter; he was also brevetted a brigadier-general for gallant service in the battle of Cerro Gordo. He retired from active service in 1863, and in 1865 was brevetted a major-general for long and faithful service.

Col. William J. Worth — whose gallant services in the War of 1812, and who in the Mexican War disclosed abilities as a soldier which brought him into the public mind as a proper candidate for the presidency — was stationed here for a time.

Capt. E. V. Sumner, who became so renowned for his famous cavalry charge at the battle of Cerro Gordo, in which he was wounded, and who subsequently distinguished himself at Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey, in Mexico, was also here. Captain Sumner led an expedition against the Cheyenne Indians in Kansas; he commanded the left wing of the federal army at the siege of Yorktown; was in all of the battles of the Peninsula, and was twice wounded; was again wounded at Antietam, and at the battle of Fredericksburg commanded the right grand division of the army. He was one of old Fort Winnebago's brightest jewels.

Lieut. Horatio Phillips Van Cleve went to the front early in the War of Secession as colonel of the Second Minnesota, and achieved distinction, retiring with the rank of major-general; he was one of the finest graduates of the old fort. At the battle of Stone River, Van Cleve was in command of a subdivision of the Army of the Ohio, and was severely wounded. Greeley's *History of the American Conflict* erroneously records him as killed. He recovered from his wounds, and served with distinction until the close of the war. Van Cleve married Charlotte Ouisconsin Clark, daughter of Maj. Nathan Clark, at Fort Winnebago in 1836, this lady having been born at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) in 1819, said to be the first woman of pure white

Capt. Wm. S. Harney.

Capt. E. V. Sumner.

Col. Wm. J. Worth.

Lieut. J. J. Abercrombie.

Satterlee Clark, Sutler.

Lieut. R. B. Marcy.

Capt. Gideon Low.

Lieut. N. B. Rossell.

OFFICERS AT FORT WINNEBAGO

(With their rank while at the fort.)

blood born within the present limits of Wisconsin. Her father, the major, died at Fort Winnebago and was buried in the old military cemetery, but his remains were subsequently removed to Cincinnati.

Lieut. Randolph B. Marcy was on duty at Fort Winnebago in 1837–40; captain in 1846, and in active service during the Mexican War, later being on frontier duty for many years. During the War of Secession, he was chief-of-staff under his son-in-law, Gen. George B. McClellan, in 1861–62, attaining the rank of inspector-general and brevet brigadier-general. General Marcy was the author of several volumes descriptive of frontier life and service.[1]

Lieut. Nathan B. Rossell joined (1839) the Fifth Infantry at Fort Winnebago, his first post. He was with his regiment in the Mexican War, being severely wounded at Molino del Rey. He was brevetted for distinguished services and was presented by his native state, New Jersey, with a gold sword. He was in command at Fort Albuquerque, N. Mex., when the War of Secession broke out. He was ordered into active service, being killed while in command of the Third Infantry, at Gaines's Mill.

Lieut. Edward Kirby Smith, the dashing Confederate general who kept the Union forces so busy in the Southwest during the Rebellion, was also at the Fox-Wisconsin portage even prior to the establishment of the fort. A stray manuscript leaf from some of the army records left at the fort when it was evacuated, and now in possession of one of the citizens of Portage, contains the proceedings of a court-martial whereat the brevet lieutenant was tried for insubordination, being charged with having "refused to take orders from any d—d militia captain."

Dr. Lyman Foot, eminent as a surgeon and physician,—who spent much of his early manhood at various military posts on the frontier, and who was greatly esteemed for his

[1] *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in 1852* (Washington, 1854); *The Prairie Traveler, a Handbook for Overland Emigrants* (New York, 1859); *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (1866); *Border Reminiscences* (New York, 1872).—Ed.

social qualities and professional attainments,— was long remembered by early citizens of Portage.

Lieut. John Pegram, who became a distinguished Confederate general, and lost his life in one of the engagements near Petersburg; Lieut. John T. Collinsworth, who resigned in 1836 and became inspector-general of the republic of Texas, dying in 1837 at the age of 28; Col. James S. McIntosh, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Molino del Rey, in Mexico, in 1846; Lieut. John J. Abercrombie, who commanded the Union forces at the battle of Falling Waters, one of the first engagements in the late war; Lieut. Alexander S. Hooe, who greatly distinguished himself at the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in the latter of which he lost an arm; Lieut. Pinkney Lugenbeel, who was brevetted for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec in the Mexican War, and served in the Army of the Potomac; Lieuts. Ferdinand S. Mumford and Samuel B. Hayman, who acquired honorable distinction in the War of Secession, and undoubtedly others of merit whose names do not occur to me, were here.

Little did these young officers, as they gathered around the festive board and sang:[1]

In the army there's sobriety,
Promotion's very slow,
We'll sigh o'er reminiscences of Benny Havens, O!
Old Benny Havens, O! Old Benny Havens, O!
We'll sigh o'er reminiscences of Benny Havens, O!

do more than dream of the promotion which was soon to be theirs; but the war with Mexico was near at hand, and promotion came to them very rapidly.

Among the earliest to arrive at the fort was Capt. Gideon Low, who came here with his command from Green Bay in

[1] "Benny Havens" was an army melody, very popular at our frontier posts sixty years ago. See "Grant's Appointment to West Point," *McClure's Magazine*, January, 1897. "Benny Havens" was one of the institutions at West Point — a little tavern and bar on the riverbank, just outside of the reservation. It was considered very wild to slip down to Benny's and smoke a cigar and drink a glass of gin.

1831. In the Black Hawk War, Capt. Low was ordered to Fort Atkinson; and after the danger was over there he returned to Fort Winnebago, where he remained on duty until 1840, when he resigned. Prior to his resignation he built the Franklin House, in 1838, which became so famous as a hostelry in the early days of Portage. Capt. Low died at the agency in 1850, and was buried in the cemetery at the fort; but subsequently his remains were removed to the burial lot of his son-in-law, Henry Merrell, in Silver Lake Cemetery.

Some of those who were not in the service directly, but who were at the fort in various capacities, and who afterward became prominent in public affairs, should be mentioned, as a history of Fort Winnebago would not be complete without recalling them.

The distinguished Hungarian political refugee, Count Agostin Haraszthy, was at the fort and had a contract with the government for supplying the garrison with fuel, his headquarters being on one of the "islands" in the marsh a few miles north of the fort. After leaving here he founded the village of Haraszthy, now called Sauk City, and subsequently removed to California, where he was a man of much prominence in public affairs, being a member of the legislature of that State. Later he directed his energies to affairs in Central America and lost his life there while crossing a lagoon, being drowned, or possibly pulled under by an alligator.[1]

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[1] Col. (or Count) Agostin Haraszthy was born in 1812, in the comitat of Bacska, Hungary, his family having been prominent in Hungarian annals for upwards of 700 years. Educated in the law, he was, at the age of 18, a member of Emperor Ferdinand's body guard (of nobles), later being chief executive officer of his (Haraszthy's) district, and then private secretary of the Hungarian viceroy. Upon the failure of the liberal movement of 1839–40, in which he was engaged, he was compelled to fly to the United States. After extensive travels over our country, he wrote a book (in Hungarian) intended to encourage his fellow countrymen to emigrate to America. In 1840–41 he settled in Wisconsin, near Portage, as related by Mr. Turner in the above text; here he had a large tract of land, which he improved at much cost, making necessary roads and ferries. Gaining permission to re-

Of those who were at the Fox-Wisconsin portage in early times, years before the fort had an existence, was Pierre Paquette. He was born at St. Louis in 1796, and married Thérèse Crelie, daughter of the noted Joseph Crelie.[2] His early manhood was spent among the Indians in the Far West, in the fur trade. Subsequently he became the agent of the American Fur Company at the portage, and was the agent of Joseph Rolette in the transportation business. He was slain by an Indian named Mauzamoneka (or Iron

turn temporarily to Hungary, to surrender certain important State papers to that government, he succeeded in saving $150,000 from his confiscated estates, together with a considerable amount of family plate and paintings. With this fortune, he returned to Wisconsin (1842–43), and founded what is now Sauk City, where he planted the first hop-yard in our State, and encouraged others to do likewise; he was highly successful with this crop. He became the head of an emigrant association which brought to Wisconsin large and successful colonies of English, German, and Swiss. In 1848, he made considerable contributions of arms, supplies, and money to his revolutionary compatriots in Hungary. The following year (1849) he removed to California, being elected sheriff of San Diego county. He was for many years a prominent citizen of that State, holding important State and national offices. He is called the Father of Viniculture in California, and published much on that subject — in 1861 being appointed by the governor as special commissioner to visit European vineyards and report thereon; the result of his report was the introduction of 400 distinct varieties of grapes into the Golden State. In 1868, he went to Nicaragua, where, at the head of a company of friends, he obtained valuable privileges for the manufacture of wines and spirits, sugar, and lumber — acquiring 100,000 acres of some of the best land in Central America. It was upon his plantation, the Hacienda San Antonio, near the port of Corinto, that he met his death (July 6, 1870), as stated above by Mr. Turner.

When Haraszthy returned to America in 1842–43, he was accompanied by his mother, who died at Grand Gulf, Miss., 1844–45; and his father (Charles), who, at the age of 80, was buried at sea on his return to San Francisco from Corinto (July 22, 1870). Colonel Haraszthy's wife (née Eleonora Dödinsky) died at Leon, Nicaragua, July 15, 1869; his son, Col. Gaza Haraszthy, died on the family plantation in Nicaragua, December 17, 1878, aged 45; his sons Attila F. and Arpad were born in Hungary and now (1898) live in California; another surviving son (Beba) was born in Sauk City, Wis.; of his two daughters, Ida was born in Peoria, Ill., and Otelia in Madison, Wis.— Ed.

[1] For accounts of Crelie, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, vii, viii, ix.— Ed.

Walker), in 1836, with whom he had had some trouble, at a spot near the present site of the Catholic church in Portage. He was one of the best known men in the West, and his tragic death produced a sensation equal to what might be experienced if the most distinguished man in Wisconsin to-day should be assassinated; for he was a famous man in many ways, and was held in the highest esteem by both whites and Indians. For years after his death he was the most talked-about man in this section. At the time of his death he was living across the river, where Judge Barden now resides, and some of the latter's farm buildings were erected by Paquette. His daughter, Thérèse, who is still living, and a resident of Caledonia, speaks of frequent visits to her father's place by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis and Captain Gideon Low.

Satterlee Clark in writing of him says: "He was the very best specimen of a man I ever saw. He was 6 feet 2 inches in height and weighed 200 pounds, hardly ever varying a single pound. He was a very handsome man, hospitable, generous and kind, and I think I never saw a better natured man."[1]

Henry Merrell said of him: "He was a man of mild disposition, could neither read nor write, but had as true a sense of honor as any gentleman I ever knew, and all who knew him would take his word as soon as any man's bond."[2] Most fabulous stories were often related of his remarkable strength.

Paquette was buried under the old log church which stood in about the center of what is now Adams street, near its junction with Conant street. The church was burned about 1840, and his resting place was marked by a picket enclosure, after which his remains were removed to the lot in the rear of the present Baptist church, and were buried under the entrance to the "L" in the rear of it;[3]

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 316.—Ed.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 383.—Ed.

[3] The church spoken of was the first church in Central Wisconsin, and was built by Paquette for a Dominican priest, Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli,

Another noted character hereabouts was Jean Baptiste Du Bay, whose trading post was on the hill opposite the fort and just east of the Indian Agency, having succeeded to the interest of Paquette, after the latter's death. He killed William S. Reynolds on the premises in 1857, during a land-title dispute, an event that attracted great interest at the time and which ever after clouded an otherwise honorable career.[1]

Henry Merrell was at the fort also; he was a sutler there in 1834, and afterwards became the agent of the American Fur Company, filling many positions of honor and trust; he was the first senator from this district when the State was organized, and his descendants have converted the site of the old military fort from its warlike appearance to the more peaceful one of a well-appointed farm.[2]

So also Satterlee Clark, who was appointed a sutler by President Jackson in 1830; but being a minor he was unable to take charge of the position in his own name, and it was farmed out to Oliver Newbury of Detroit, Clark becoming his clerk. He devoted the most of his time, however, to the Indian trade. Clark was for many years a senator from Dodge county. He was an admirer of Jefferson Davis, and never suffered an opportunity to pass to sound his praises, even during the most exciting days of the War of Secession. So conspicuous was this habit, that he often found himself in controversy with others who were not in sympathy with him. On one occasion, when it fell to me to introduce him to a public assemblage in Portage, to lecture on early times at the fort, I remarked in a spirit of pleasantry: "Our friend who will address you to-night was a companion of Lieutenant Davis at the fort, and it is now impos-

who came here occasionally to hold services among the Indians and half-breeds, and who in time became distinguished in his order, having founded Saint Clara Academy at Sinsinawa Mound, in Grant county.— A. J. T.

Cf. Moses Paquette's reference to the church built by Pierre Paquette, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 432, 433.— Ed.

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 400–402.— Ed.

[2] See Merrell's "Pioneer Life in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 366–402.—Ed.

Maj. David E Twiggs.

Lieut. Jefferson Davis, æt. 32.

From an old engraving in Aldrich Collection, Historical Department of Iowa.

Lieut. John Pegram.

Mrs. John H. Kinzie,
author of *Wau-Bun;*
from painting by G. A. P. Healey.

John H. Kinzie,
Indian Agent.

SOME OF FORT WINNEBAGO'S CELEBRITIES
(With their rank while at the fort.)

sible to say whether 'Sat' imbibed his secession ideas from 'Jeff,' or whether 'Jeff' obtained his from 'Sat,'" all of which was received by Clark with his accustomed good-nature. With all of his peculiarities, and often extravagant expressions of speech, he was a most companionable man, and a true courtier to ladies, who admired him.[1] Clark was married at the old Indian Agency house on the hill just opposite the fort, and still standing, to a daughter of Mr. Jones, the sutler. And here it should be stated that this house was built for John H. Kinzie, the sub-Indian agent, who was a son of John Kinzie, whose name occupies so prominent a page in the early history of Chicago, he being a post-trader at Fort Dearborn at the time of the massacre of the garrison by the Indians in 1812.[2]

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[1] See his "Early Times at Fort Winnebago," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 309-321.— Ed.

[2] Mrs. John H. Kinzie was the author of that entertaining volume of reminiscences of life at frontier posts, *Wau-Bun*. From this book (ch. viii), I transcribe her account of her arrival at Fort Winnebago in 1830, in company with her husband, who was to have charge of the Indian Agency. Mrs. Twiggs was the only woman who had preceded her to the fort. After describing the approach to the fort in a canoe, by the tortuous windings of the Fox, Mrs. Kinzie writes:

"Maj. and Mrs. Twiggs and a few of the younger officers (for nearly all the older ones were absent), with our brother Robert, or as he is called throughout all the Indian tribes, 'Bob,' gave us a cordial welcome — how cordial those alone can know who have come, like us, to a remote isolated home in the wilderness. The major insisted on our taking possession at once of vacant quarters in the fort instead of the agency, as had been proposed. No, we must be under the same roof with them. Mrs. Twiggs had been without a companion of her own sex for more than four months, and would certainly not hear of a separation now. But we must be their guests until the arrival of the boats containing our furniture, which, under the care of our old acquaintance, Hamilton Arndt, was making its way slowly up from Green Bay. A dinner had been prepared for us. This is one of the advantages of the zig-zag approach by the Fox river — traders never take their friends by surprise; and when the whole circle sat down to the hospitable board we were indeed a merry company. After dinner, Mrs. Twiggs showed me the quarters assigned to us on the opposite side of the hall. They consisted of two large rooms on each side of the building. On the ground floor the front room was vacant. The one in the rear was to

John H. Kinzie died on a Fort Wayne Railway train January 28, 1865, of heart disease.

When the Kinzies arrived at the fort, they found the Winnebagoes assembled there in anticipation of the arrival of Shawneeawkee (the Indian name for the agent), who was to pay them their annuities. "The woods were now brilliant with many tints of autumn," Mrs. Kinzie wrote, "and the scene around us was further enlivened by groups of Indians in all directions, and their lodges which were scattered here and there in the vicinity of the Agency buildings. On the low grounds might be seen the white tents of the traders, already prepared to send out winter supplies to the Indians, in exchange for the annuity money they were about to receive.

"Preparatory to this event, the great chief of the Winnebago nation, 'Four Legs' (Hootschope), whose village was on Doty's Island at the foot of Lake Winnebago, had

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be the sleeping apartment, as was evident from a huge, unwieldy bedstead of proportions amply sufficient to have accommodated Og, the King of Bashan, with Mrs. Og and the children into the bargain. This edifice had been built under the immediate superintendence of one of our young lieutenants [Jefferson Davis] and it was plain to be seen that both he and the soldiers who fabricated it had exhausted all their architectural skill. The timber of which it was composed had been grooved and carved, the pillars that supported the front swelled in and out in a most fanciful manner; the doors were not only paneled, but radiated in a way to excite the admiration of all unsophisticated eyes. A similar piece of workmanship had been erected in each set of quarters, to supply the deficiency of closets, an inconvenience which had never occurred, until too late, to the bachelors who planned them. The three apartments of which each structure was composed were unquestionably designed for clothes-press, storeroom, and china closet; such at least were the uses to which Mrs. Twiggs had appropriated the one assigned to her. There was this slight difficulty, that in the latter the shelves were too close to admit setting in even a gravyboat, but they made up in number what was wanting in space. We christened the whole affair in honor of its projector, a 'Davis,' thus placing the first laurel on the brow of one who was afterward to signalize himself in cabinet making of quite a different character."

It will be remembered that Davis himself was a member of President Pierce's cabinet, and that he constructed an entire one on his own account as president of the Confederate States.

thought proper to take a little carouse, as is too apt to be the custom when the savages come into the neighborhood of a sutler's establishment. In the present instance, the facilities for a season of intoxication had been augmented by the presence on the ground of some traders, too regardless of the very stringent laws prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians.

"Poor Four Legs could not stand this full tide of prosperity. Unchecked by the presence of his father, the agent, he carried his indulgence to such excess that he fell a victim in the course of a few days. His funeral had been celebrated with unusual pomp the day before our arrival, and great was my disappointment at finding myself too late to witness all the ceremonies.

"His body, according to their custom, having been wrapped in a blanket and placed in a rude coffin along with his guns, tomahawk, pipes, and a quantity of tobacco, had been carried to the most elevated point of the hill opposite the fort, followed by an immense procession of his people, whooping, beating their drums, howling and making altogether what is emphatically termed a 'pow-wow.'

"After the interment of his body a stake was planted at his head, on which was painted in vermillion a series of hieroglyphics, descriptive of the great deeds and events of his life. The whole was then surrounded with pickets of the trunks of the tamarack trees, and thither the friends would come for many successive days to renew the expression of their grief, and to throw over the grave tobacco and other offerings to the Great Spirit."

We might imagine that the bones of the great Four Legs repose there still, a little in the rear of the Agency building; but they probably do not, for the graves of the Indians were usually very shallow, and the tiller of the soil, as he "drove his team a-field," would often turn their bones to the surface to be whitened in the sun; and it became in after years quite fashionable for white men to desecrate the Indian graves in pursuit of relics. Frequently

no other covering than a roof of slabs, in the form of a ∧ was given to them. The removal of a board would enable one to see the old Indian chief Choukeka or "Spoon Dekorra" sitting upright, with all of his funeral trappings surrounding him.[1] On one occasion, when two of our townsmen, prompted by the spirit of an overweening curiosity, made an inspection of Dekorra's rude mausoleum, to see how the old fellow was getting on, a rabbit was observed keeping vigil with the spirit of the old chieftain.

Continuing her narrative of events occurring at the fort immediately after their arrival, Mrs. Kinzie relates the "calls" they received from the principal chiefs, who had put on their best blankets, gaudiest feathers, and paint to receive their new "mother."

There was Nawkaw or Carrymaunee (The Walking Turtle), who, the principal chief of his tribe, was beside Tecumseh when he fell at the battle of the Thames, and old "Daykauray,"—Schchipkaka (White War Eagle), as Mrs. Kinzie spells it, but which is always written, locally, "Dekorra."[2]

Mrs. Kinzie spoke of her caller as "the most noble, dignified and venerable of his own, or indeed of any tribe. His fine Roman countenance, rendered still more striking by his bald head, with one solitary tuft of long silvery hair neatly tied and falling back on his shoulders; his perfectly

[1] Not to be confounded with the Spoon Decorah of the next generation, whose narrative is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls*, xiii, pp. 448–462.—Ed.

[2] The correct orthography undoubtedly is De Carrie, like that of his father the old chief, who was the reputed grandson of Sebrevoir De Carrie, an officer in the French army, who, after resigning his commission in 1729, became an Indian trader among the Winnebagoes, subsequently taking for his wife the head chief's sister, Morning Glory, spoken of as a most remarkable woman. De Carrie returned to the army and was mortally wounded at Quebec, April 28, 1760, and died of his wounds in a hospital at Montreal. Whether this genealogical tree has been correctly established or not, I will not undertake to determine. It is vouched for in Augustin Grignon's Recollections (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii), and by John T. de la Ronde (*Id.*, vii), who was something of an expert in Indian genealogy; and so let it be accepted as a fact. There certainly are some corroborating and extenuating circumstances to sustain it.

neat, appropriate dress, almost without ornament, and his courteous demeanor, never laid aside under any circumstances, all combining to give him the highest place in the consideration of all who knew him. It will hereafter be seen," Mrs. Kinzie adds, "that his traits of character were not less grand and striking than were his personal appearance and deportment."

Mrs. Kinzie probably had in mind, when she penned the following paragraph, the time when the Indians were reduced to dire extremities for food. The game had been driven off by the troops and war parties the preceding summer, and soup made of slippery elm and stewed acorns was the only food that many of them had subsisted upon for weeks. Their condition was wretched in the extreme, and could only be relieved by the arrival of the stores that were expected to come up Fox River by the boat. While this condition of affairs existed, Mrs. Kinzie wrote: "The noble old De-kau-ry came one day from the Barribault [Baraboo] to apprise us of the state in his village. More than forty of his people he said had now been for many days without food, save bark and roots. My husband accompanied him to the commanding officer to tell his story and ascertain if any amount of food could be obtained from that quarter. The result was the promise of a small allowance of flour, sufficient to alleviate the cravings of his own family. When this was explained to the chief, he turned away. 'No,' he said, 'if my people could not be relieved, I and my family will starve with them.' And he refused, for those nearest and dearest to him, the proffered succor, until all could share alike. When at last the boat arrived, the scene of exultation that followed was a memorable one. The bulky 'Wild Cat,' now greatly reduced in flesh from his long fasting, seized the aristocratic 'Washington Woman,' Madame Thunder, and hugged and danced with her in exuberance of their joy."

The old chief died in 1836, at what is known locally as Caffrey's Place, at the foot of the bluff in Caledonia, and was buried in Portage just in the rear of the old log Cath-

olic church, nearly opposite J. E. Wells's residence, according to John T. de la Ronde; but Moses Paquette, in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (vol. xiii), states that his death occurred at the Pete-en-Well on the Wisconsin River. When the order was made to remove the bodies of all persons buried there, Dekaury's remains were bundled into some boxes promiscuously with others, and they now rest in the Catholic cemetery.

Among the Kinzies' other callers were Black Wolf, Talk English, Little Elk, Wild Cat, White Crow, and Dandy,— a nephew of Four Legs, but not the Dandy known to so many of the housewives of Portage, who was omnipresent when pressed with hunger. His pretensions to noble lineage were distinctly repudiated by Yellow Thunder, who regarded his ancestry as tainted with uncertainty. Each of these distinguished callers could point to some special deed or traits of character that elevated him above the common herd, who could not point to so many scalps on their belts, or exhibit other evidences of prowess and greatness.

Among other callers, a little later, was the esteemed Mme. Yellow Thunder, who had been to Washington with Mr. Thunder, and was known by the other Indians as the "Washington Woman." Yellow Thunder had a reputation not a whit less honorable than Dekorra's. The good deeds related of him would fill a volume. His remains repose undisturbed on the west bank of Wisconsin River, a few miles below Kilbourn, where he lived and died, emulating, as well as he could, the virtues of his pale-faced brethren and eschewing their vices. At one time the government at Washington decided to remove him, with the rest of the tribe, to the Winnebago reservation near Omaha, and they did; but the old fellow got back even before the guard who escorted them thither, for he had decided to live in Wisconsin.[1] He purchased a farm and became a tiller of the soil, swore allegiance to the government to which he had no occasion to feel grateful, and died at a great age in 1874.

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 407 et seq.— Ed.

Mrs. R. B. Marcy.

Yellow Thunder,
Winnebago chief.

Mrs. N. B. Rossell,
sister of Mrs. Marcy.

Mrs. Geo. B. McClellan,
daughter of Mrs. Marcy.

Mrs. Gideon Low.

The soldiers, apart from their garrison duties, were detailed to road-making. The old military highway between Fort Crawford (at Prairie du Chien) and Fort Howard (at Green Bay) was constructed wholly by them, and is still in use. Between times, some of the officers found time to go on the chase for deer in the neighboring forest. An old Indian named Dixon, whose erect form is still frequently seen on Portage streets, loves to tell how he used to paddle a canoe on Swan Lake and in the rice fields for "two good officers" (meaning soldiers of rank) to shoot ducks. He does not remember their names, but one of them had an unusually red head, he assures you, and was always successful in his ducking expeditions. This was probably Lieut. Carter L. Stevenson, who enjoyed the distinction of having a very bright capillary adornment.

So, while old Fort Winnebago's history has not been distinguished by attacks, or massacres, or other stirring scenes, it has not been wholly uneventful.

During the Black Hawk War, which followed the suppression of the Winnebago outbreak, the garrison at the fort was assigned to more active duty. A portion of it was sent to Fort Atkinson to strengthen that post, under command of Captain Low. What remained was so meager as to invite an attack from the Winnebagoes, of whose good intentions the inmates were not well assured. The approach of Black Hawk, in 1832, was heralded, and consternation prevailed. Satterlee Clark, in his reminiscences, states: "In the meantime Black Hawk, learning from the Winnebagoes, who also promised to assist him, that only thirty men remained in Fort Winnebago, determined to burn it and massacre its inmates. They accordingly came and camped on the Fox river about four miles above Swan Lake, and about eight miles from the fort." Clark probably meant Winnebagoes instead of Sacs, as some have inferred from his statement; for Black Hawk did not reach Columbia county. He detoured to the south with his braves, and was attacked and put to flight at what is known as the battle of Wisconsin Heights, in the town of Roxbury, in

Dane county, a short distance south of the town of West Point. Some amusing episodes occurred while the attack was in expectancy, but no serious catastrophe resulted.

Mrs. Van Cleve, in writing[1] of her marriage and other occurrences at the fort, has recorded this incident: "During the following summer [1836] a detachment of troops in command of Col. Zachary Taylor, accompanied by General Brady, came up to Fort Winnebago in consequence of an Indian scare, which was entirely imaginary, and camped on the prairie, just outside the fort. Their coming was a very pleasant event, and the more so because there was not, and never had been, any danger from the Indians, who were very peaceable neighbors. But we enjoyed the visit exceedingly, and the officers were frequently entertained at our quarters, at their meals. Very opportunely for us, the strawberries were abundant, and the flowers, which were beautiful and fresh every morning, were more lovely as ornaments than elegant plate of silver or gold."

At the conclusion of the Black Hawk War, in 1832, a treaty stipulation was entered into for the cession of all the Indian lands south and east of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. One of the stipulations of the treaty was the surrender of certain individuals of their tribe, accused of having participated with the Sacs in some murders. The men were surrendered, according to agreement, and were confined in the "black-hole," as it was called, being an enormous dungeon under one of the fort buildings, to await trial. Although careful supervision was exercised, the Indians proceeded to plan their escape, and in about six weeks they had tunneled their way out under the walls in almost the precise manner that a number of Union officers made their escape from Libby prison thirty years later. That they might be as little encumbered as possible in their flight, they left their blankets behind them; and although it was bitter December weather, they took to the woods and prairies with only their calico shirts and leggins for

[1] In her *Three Score Years and Ten*.— Ed.

covering. The question among the officers of the fort was, how to get the fugitives back. Kinzie, the agent, could promise no more than that he would communicate with the chiefs and represent the wishes of the officers that the prisoners should once more surrender themselves, and thus free those who had the charge of them from the imputation of carelessness, which the government would be very likely to throw upon them. When, therefore, according to their custom, the Winnebago chiefs assembled at the agency on New Year's day, 1833, the agent laid the subject before them. The Indians replied that if they saw the young men they would tell them what the officers would like to have them do. They could themselves do nothing in the matter. They had fulfilled their engagement by bringing them once, and putting them in the hands of the officers. The government had had them in its power once, and could not keep them; it must now go and catch them.

The social amenities of life were not neglected in the least degree by the few ladies who gave grace by their refining presence to fort life. Calls were made and returned then as now, and a lady took her position in a canoe to make or return a call on an acquaintance,— at Fort Crawford down the Wisconsin, 118 miles distant, or down the Fox to Fort Howard, about 175 miles away,— with less ado and trouble in arranging her toilet for the occasion, than is sometimes experienced by our ladies of to-day in making a party call across the street. I have frequently heard a gentleman who was accustomed to escort ladies on such occasions, and paddle the canoe, and who made his bridal tour in that manner from the old Agency house to Green Bay, speak of the rare delight of these trips in a birchen canoe.

The venerable W. W. Haskin, who is spending the evening of his life at Pardeeville,—one of the very few survivors of those who were at the fort when it was garrisoned,— reverts with evident pleasure to an occasion when he chaperoned some ladies at the fort on some of their horseback

gallopings in the oak openings about Stone Quarry Hill; and Mrs. Kinzie, a delicate young lady, and a stranger to life beyond the frontier, has told us most entertainingly in her *Wau-Bun*, of her trips to Green Bay by boat, and of her gallops to and from Chicago, sometimes in mid-winter, following bridle paths through the forest, fording swollen streams (for of bridges there were none), riding across treacherous marshes and through swamps, braving storms and inclement weather, partaking of Indian diet in their lodges at times, and subsisting as best she might, and remembering it all as a pleasant part of life.

Miss Marcy, daughter of Lieutenant Marcy (she later became the wife of Gen. George B. McClellan), gave the garrison a joy with her childish antics, and I have heard habitués of the fort refer with pride to the times when they dandled the dear little miss on their knees. The voice of Major Twiggs's daughter, Lizzie, first resounded in the fort in January, 1831, and so she is entitled to the distinction, as I suppose, of being the first white person born within the present limits of Columbia county.[1]

Mrs. Van Cleve has written: "The memory of the weekly musicals at John Kinzie's pleasant agency, and the delightful rides on horseback over the portage to the point where Portage City now stands, quickens my heart even now." As Mrs. Van Cleve (then Charlotte Ouisconsin Clark) was shortly afterward married to Lieutenant Van Cleve, it is not difficult to guess who her escort was on these occasions. It is recorded that the ladies, ever foremost in good works, had a Sunday school in progress at the chapel, and let us feel well assured the lessons they taught were fruitful of good results.

Neither was education, temporal or spiritual, neglected, as we learn from W. C. Whitford's paper on "Early History of Education in Wisconsin"[2] that Maj. John Green, com-

[1] She died at the age of five, in Washington, D. C.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 331. The latest history of the subject is Stearns's *Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin* (Milw., 1893). —Ed.

INDIAN AGENCY HOUSE, FORT WINNEBAGO.

Formerly occupied by Mrs. John H. Kinzie, author of *Wau-Bun*, and now the farm house of E. S. Baker.

manding officer at Fort Winnebago, engaged, in 1835, Miss Eliza Haight as governess in his family; he allowed the children of other officers at the fort to attend the school. There were in all about a dozen pupils. In the spring of 1840, Rev. S. P. Keyes became both chaplain and schoolmaster of the fort, and taught about twenty children, some of them over twelve years of age.

In the spring of 1833 the garrison was excited over the arrival of a clergyman, the Rev. Aratus Kent, of Galena, who was accompanied by his wife. "This event," Mrs. Kinzie wrote, "is memorable as being the first occasion on which the gospel, according to the Protestant faith, was preached at Fort Winnebago. The large parlor of the hospital was fitted up for the service, and gladly did we say to each other: 'Let us go to the house of the Lord!' For nearly three years had we lived here without the blessing of a public service of praise and thanksgiving. We regarded this commencement as an omen of better times, and our little 'sewing society' worked with renewed industry to raise a fund which might be available hereafter in securing the permanent services of a missionary."[1]

The efforts of the ladies in their religious work were sometimes turned in the direction of the Indians. Explaining the nature of their efforts to our old friend Dandy, he responded: "That is right; I am glad to see you doing your duty; I am very religious myself and I like to see others so. I always take care that my squaws attend to their duties, not reading, perhaps, but such as the Great Spirit liked, and such as I think proper and becoming."

The chapel, after the evacuation of the fort, continued to be used as such, and the late Rev. William Wells and the late Rev. Isaac Smith were accustomed to officiate there. The building is now one of the farm buildings on the Helmann farm, a little east of the old fort.

The spirit of speculation was also abroad, and army officers and their thrifty friends invested in government lands, and laid out on paper many a promising village. One of

[1] *Wau-Bun*, ch. xiv.— Ed.

these embraced a considerable tract of land adjoining the military reserve on the east, fronting in part on Swan Lake and extending back to Stone Quarry Hill, to which was given the pretentious name of "Wisconsinapolis." When the capital of the State was being located, the embryo city received six affirmative votes, to seven in the negative. This proposition has been thought by some, unacquainted with its natural advantages, to have been a preposterous one; as a matter of fact it was a most eligible and appropriate location for the capital. Another village, called "Ida," occupies the precise spot on Swan Lake, platted last year as Oakwood, which promises to become a popular resort. Another one on the south side of Swan Lake was called "Winnebago City," but better known in the east as "Swan Lake City," and now much better known as "Wardle's Farm."

While the officers hunted and fished, and speculated in wild lands and city lots by day, and indulged in games and festivities and theatricals at night, and the ladies knit and crocheted and did bead work and conducted Sabbath schools, and attended to their household duties as well as they could with their surroundings, the soldiers stood sentry, and between times visited the sutler's stores and trading posts, and made merry generally by day and sang "Benny Havens, O!" by night. In brief, army life at Fort Winnebago was very much like army life elsewhere. Athletics and theatricals, games and races, relieved the tedium; and discipline and demoralization, vice and virtue went hand in hand.[1]

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[1] The celebrated English writer, Frederick Marryat, journeyed through Wisconsin in 1837, and in his *Diary in America* (London, 1839, 2 vols.), vol. 1, p. 191, records his visit to Fort Winnebago: "Fort Winnebago is situated between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers at the portage, the two rivers being about a mile and a half apart, the Fox river running east, and giving its waters to lake Michigan at Green Bay, while the Wisconsin turns to the west and runs into the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien. The fort is merely a square of barracks, connected together with palisades, to protect it from the Indians, and it is hardly sufficiently strong even for that purpose. It is beautifully situated, and when the country fills up will be-

The old fort, however, like all earthly things, had its day. The approaching war with Mexico had reached its threatening stage; and preparatory for it, orders for the evacuation were issued in 1845, the troops being sent to St. Louis to relieve those stationed at Jefferson Barracks, who had been ordered to the Gulf, and a little later they followed them to the sanguinary fields of Mexico. When the evacuation took place, the fort was left in charge of Sergeant Van Camp; but he died shortly after, when Capt. William Weir was placed in charge, he having been a soldier in the Florida War and afterward at the fort. Later, he was a soldier in the War of Secession. In 1853, the property was sold under the direction of Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, who, as lieutenant in the army twenty-three years before, had assisted in the construction of the fort.[1] Prior

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come a place of importance. Most of the officers are married and live a very quiet and secluded but not unpleasant life. I stayed there two days, much pleased with the society, and the kindness shown to me; but an opportunity of descending the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, in a keel boat, having presented itself, I availed myself of an invitation to join the party, instead of proceeding by land to Galena, as had been my original intention."

[1] The following is a copy of a letter from the secretary of war to the president, regarding the reservation at Fort Winnebago:

War Department, Washington, July 26, 1851.—Sir: By an order made or or before the 28th day of February and written upon a plat of the public lands adjacent to Fort Winnebago, the President directed that (among others) section 4 in township 12 north, and section 33 in township 13 north, range 9 east, be reserved for military purposes. At the time this order was made these sections had not been laid out in full, they were, as will appear by a copy of the plat bearing the president's order herewith marked D, situated on the western limit of the public domain and portions of them, if the lines had been run out, would have fallen within the country then belonging to an Indian tribe. The unsurveyed portions were, however, occupied for public purposes, and buildings were erected and one still standing thereon. By a treaty made in 1848 the Indians have ceded their land in that vicinity to the United States, and when it is surveyed and the lines of sections 4 and 33 completed, the portions of those sections lying within the newly acquired territory will be designated as fractional sections 4 and 33 lying west, etc., etc.

I am now advised by the commissioner of the general land office, in a

to the sale, the board of supervisors of Columbia county, January 7, 1852, formally adopted a memorial asking congress to grant the military reserve at Fort Winnebago for the benefit of the Fox and Wisconsin river improvement. Just why there should have been a desire to donate these lands to a private company, is hard to understand. If Congress had been asked to donate the reservation to the State, very likely it would have been done, as it is the practice of late years to donate abandoned military reservations to the States in which they are situated, for public purposes. It can only be regretted now that it had not been done in this instance. If it had been, the most important results might have followed.

It has been a matter of regret, often expressed, that the old fort should have been allowed to go to decay.[1] It certainly is to be regretted that the historic old spot could

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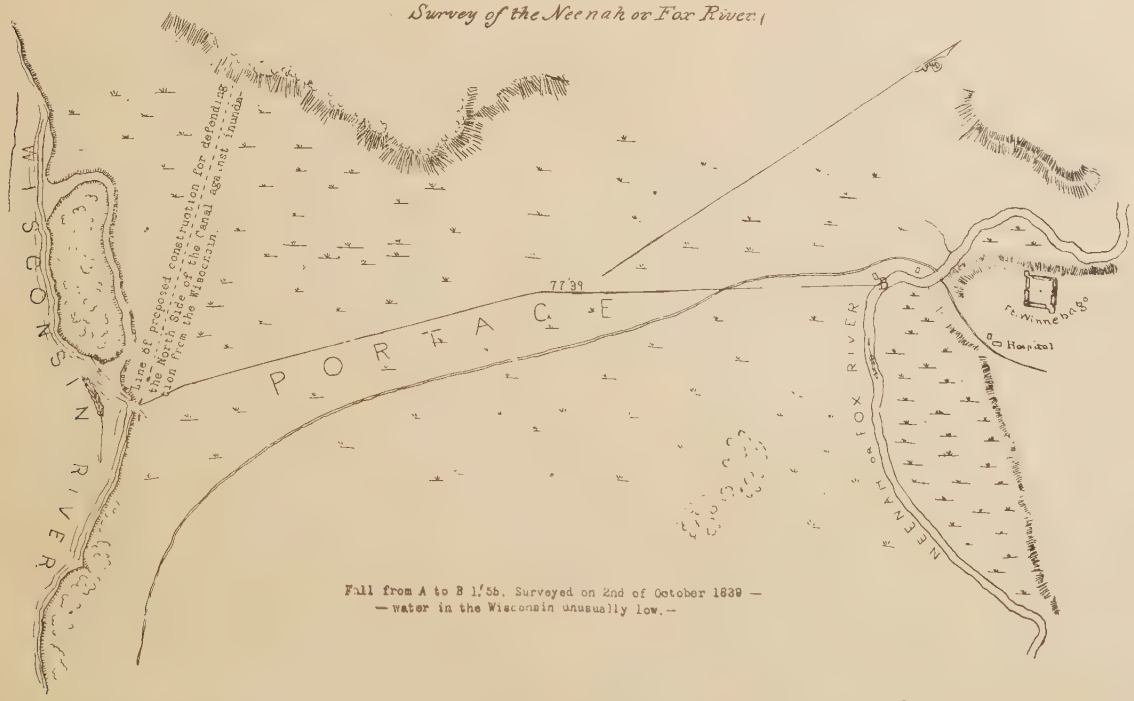
letter herewith marked E, that agreeably to the understanding of his office the executive order as it now stands will not embrace these fractions; "but they will be subject to the operations of the general pre-emption law as other public lands as soon as they shall be surveyed, unless the President acting under advices to be given to that effect by the war department, shall deem it proper to add those portions to the existing reserve made for the use of the fort by President Jackson and in advance of the time of the survey of the same when the pre-emption right can legally attach to them."

Although I think it doubtful under the circumstances whether a pre-emption right could legally attach to these lands, embraced as they are by the terms of the President's order and actually occupied under it, yet to obviate any difficulty I deem it best to pursue the course suggested by the commissioner of the general land office and recommend that "the tract of land which when surveyed will be denominated fractional section 33 lying west of Fox river in township 13 north of range 9 east" and "fraction of section 4 lying west of claim No. 21 of A. Grignon in township 12 north, range 9 east," adjacent to Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, be reserved from sale in fulfillment of the original order of President Jackson above cited. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. M. Conway,
Secretary of War.

To the President — (Approve) — Approved July 29, 1851, and ordered accordingly. Millard Filmore.

[1] A destructive fire occurred in the officers' quarters, March 30, 1856, destroying one of the principal sections of the fort.



THE FOX-WISCONSIN PORTAGE, 1839.

Reduced facsimile of map made by Capt. Thomas Jefferson Cram, T. E, January, 1840, and now in archives of War Department, Washington. Survey made October 2, 1839, by Lieut. Webster, under direction of Captain Cram. The line from A to B, represents the route of the proposed government canal; the double line, is the old portage trail.

not have been donated to the State, but there was no reason why the fort should have been maintained. All occasion for it had passed forever, and in the natural order of events the buildings went to decay. H. D. Bath, editor of the Columbus *Democrat*, visited it in 1871, and gave his impressions of it as it then appeared, in an article published at the time: "Duration and desuetude have been busy upon it. Most of the buildings stand, but they are sadly dismantled and decayed. One of the small yet massive blockhouses was burned simultaneously with the line of buildings forming the end of the quadrangle just within the defenses. The other remains, but it has been prostituted to bovine purposes. A domestic quadruped of that species shelters herself from the nightly attacks of the weather, in the strong inclosure built for refuge from the fury of the savage. On several of the edifices used for officers' quarters and similar accommodations, the massy roofing has descended almost to the ground, and barely depends, in crumpled decay, over the faces of the buildings, as when dilapidation seizes upon human ruins obtruding the tatters into their very eyes. The timbers were all of the best pine. The weather, however, if a slow hewer, is one that never rests and they must soon come down. The battered well with its forty feet of depth, and its never-failing waters, remains in the center of the square, and answers the purpose. Yet the roofed curb and heavy roller, worn with much yielding of pure refreshment, appear about to make a grave of the shaft beneath it, and is in a condition to improvise a tomb for any drawer of water that gives it a call. The magazine wards off the worm as only stone can. Its safe interior has been transmitted into a boudoir for a new-milch cow. The stone bakery is also in a good state of preservation; what use poverty, which makes men burrow wherever they can, has put this to, we did not observe. The only human figure to be discerned about the premises was a red-shirted Celt, pantalooned in what might be the cast-off undress of some former commandant long since gone to glory, and the child he carried in his arms, though there were flitting in

one of the better-preserved buildings, evidences of further family, present and future. He and his brood are the only life now in these former haunts, once so full of frontier life and military animation. The outward walls are littered with posters, ruptured with winds and rains, and placarded with the names of firms telling you where to purchase watches, or adjuring you to buy some nostrum incompatible with debility or death. Silence and abandonment, two owls ancient and voiceless, brood over the place. Existence passes it, but seldom stops. Its early origin and associations attract you thither; then curiosity melts with sadness at its desolation, and you turn from the ruin with no care to visit it again."

The old ruins, however, so graphically described, have at last passed away. Fires destroyed some of them and the balance were razed by purchasers who have converted their timbers into barns and stables. The old commissary building, and a portion of the surgeon's quarters and of the hospital, still remain. Much of the land embraced within the reservation now comprises the stock farm of Merrell & Hainsworth, while the Merrell residence occupies the old fort premises. The well continues to do duty as of yore, and the stump of the old flag-staff is still pointed out to visitors. Lieutenant Davis, in speaking of his career at the fort, once remarked to a former Portage lady, who met him at his home in Beauvoir, Miss., that to procure this staff was a matter of considerable anxiety to him. No timber entirely suitable for the purpose, could be found near the fort. Two men, who had been consulted, informed them that the stick must be at least sixty feet in length, tapering gradually to a point, and so free from defects that it would sway gracefully when the flag was given to the breeze; and they were bargained with to bring such a one to the fort.

The fixtures and furniture left at the fort when it was evacuated, were disposed of at auction or carried away at will, and many a family in the vicinage can boast of some old fort relic; the famous "Davises" could have been found

in the inventories of the household effects of some families, and they may be in existence somewhere yet, for aught I know. An old sideboard that was in service at the Agency, presumably Mrs. Kinzie's, is one of the treasures in James Collins's household; and a bureau and sideboard, which constituted a part of the furniture in one of the officer's quarters, is in possession of Mrs. O. P. Williams; as is also the old carved wooden eagle that was perched over the main entrance.

As a necessary adjunct to the fort, a cemetery was established. It was not largely populated from the garrison, and the graves of none of the soldiers who died there during its occupancy are marked by stones. Major Clark and Captain Low were buried there; but, as already stated, their remains were finally removed to family grounds elsewhere. Robert Irwin, Jr., the Indian agent, died there July, 1833. Sergt. William Weir and Private Henry Carpenter were buried there in after years, and their final resting places are appropriately marked.[1] The cemetery seems to have been made general for the public for a period, and not a few of the families of citizens, more or less prominent, were buried there; but finally the national authorities took it directly in charge and built a substantial fence around it, and restricted its use to the military. Burials there in the future must be very few indeed; but it should be the duty of the national government to care for it more befittingly in the future.

The surrender of Red Bird and his accomplices in the Gagnier murder, heretofore referred to, may be said to have marked the close of the Winnebago War (1827). While the troops were in pursuit of the murderers, the old Indian chief, Dekaury, was seized as a hostage for the surrender of Red Bird, although he was charged with no offense

[1] The grave of one of the veterans of the Revolution, who was buried there, is discernible, the stone marking it bearing this inscription: COOPER PIXLEY | Died | Mar. 12, 1855 | Æ 86 y., 7 m., 26 D. | Soldier of the Revolution.

himself. He was informed that if the offenders were not given up within a certain time, he would be executed himself. A messenger was sent out to inform the tribe of the situation, but no tidings came, and the time had nearly expired. Being in poor health, the old chief asked permission to go to the river and bathe, as he long had been accustomed to do. He was informed by Colonel Josiah Snelling that if he would promise, upon the honor of a chief, that he would not leave, he might have his liberty until his time had expired; whereupon he gave his hand to the colonel and promised that he would not leave; then he raised both hands aloft, and in the most solemn manner promised that he would not go beyond the limits accorded to him, saying that if he had a hundred lives he would rather lose them all than forfeit his word. He was set at liberty, and was advised to make his escape, for there was no desire to shoot the old fellow, who had been guilty of no wrong himself. "No! Do you think I prize life above honor?" was his only reply. Nine of the ten days allotted to him had passed, and regularly at sunset of every day Dekaury reported to the colonel; but nothing was heard from the murderers. On the last day, General Henry Atkinson arrived with his troops, and the order for his execution was countermanded.

After the murder of Gagnier, Red Bird and the other Indians implicated in the affair, fled up the Wisconsin River, and a mounted force to operate against the Winnebagoes as a body scoured both sides of the river up to Portage. Maj. William Whistler, who was in command at Fort Howard (Green Bay), had been ordered by General Atkinson to go up the Fox to the portage, with any force at his disposal. A company of Oneida and Stockbridge Indians accompanied Whistler's troops, and were encamped on the bluff opposite the portage where Fort Winnebago was subsequently built, to await the arrival of the general. In the meantime, the Winnebagoes to the number of several hundred, were encamped on the ridge along where Cook street now runs, west of the Catholic church.

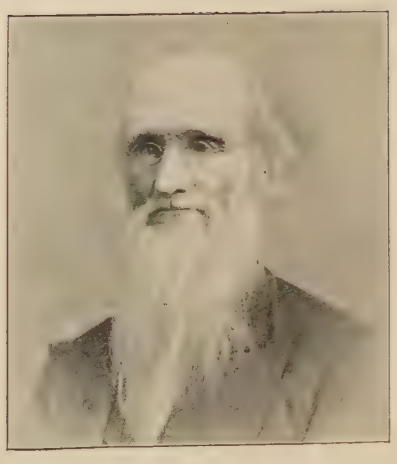
The Winnebagoes had heard of Atkinson's approach and Col. Henry Dodge's pursuit, before they were known to Whistler, and in a few days a great stir was discovered among the Indians. A party of thirty warriors was observed, by the aid of a field glass, on an eminence in the distance. It was Red Bird and his party, coming in to surrender. The details of the surrender of Red Bird have been most graphically described by the historians of the period. I would particularly advise the reader to examine the admirable account of the affair in Colonel McKenney's "The Winnebago War of 1827," in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. v. The heroism of Red Bird and his friend Wekau was one of the most remarkable incidents in the annals of our Indian wars.[1]

The prisoners were sent to Prairie du Chien for trial, before Judge Doty. They were convicted, but for some cause sentence was deferred. While confined, Red Bird sickened and died — committed suicide, Mrs. Kinzie says, in *Wau-Bun*, in consequence of chagrin, the ignominy of his confinement being more than his proud spirit could bear; he had expected death. The historian, William R. Smith, who came to the Territory at a very early period, and was familiar with Indian character, speaking of the affair in his *History of Wisconsin*, states: "The delay of administering justice was to the Indian a matter not comprehended; they scarcely in any instance deny an act which they have committed, and do not understand why punishment should not be immediately inflicted on the guilty. The imprisonment of the body is to them a most insufferable grievance, and they look upon the act as cowardice on the part of the whites, presuming that they dare not inflict such punishment as the crime demands."

Red Bird's accomplices were subsequently sentenced to be hung December 26, 1828; but before that date they were pardoned by President Adams, one of the implied condi-

[1] Cf. also, general index to *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, for miscellaneous references to surrender of Red Bird and Wekau.— Ed.

tions being that the Indians should cede to the government the lands the miners had already appropriated to their use. Mrs. Gagnier was compensated for the loss of her husband and the mutilation of her infant. At the treaty in Prairie du Chien, in 1829, provision was made for two sections of land to her and her two children; and the government agreed to pay her the sum of $50 per annum for fifteen years, to be deducted from the annuity of the Winnebago Indians. This was the last act in the Winnebago outbreak.



LIEUT. H. P. VAN CLEVE,
Acting Adjutant.

HENRY MERRILL.

MRS. C. O. VAN CLEVE,
Author of *Three Score Years and Ten.*

FORT WINNEBAGO ORDERLY BOOK, 1834-36.

The orderly book of Fort Winnebago, from September 24, 1834, to September 6, 1836, is in the possession of this Society, having been presented by Mrs. Charlotte Ouisconsin Van Cleve (now of Minneapolis, Minn.),[1] widow of Lieut. Horatio Phillips Van Cleve, who was, for most of this period, acting adjutant of the Fifth Infantry. The book has 160 pages, and contains the details of official proceedings at the garrison. These are mainly courts-martial, the offenders being privates and non-commissioned officers, many of whom appear to have had ungovernable tendencies towards drunkenness, disorderly conduct, "crossing the Fox river without permission," and introducing intoxicating liquors into the fort. We select the following as being typical of the contents of the volume, and embracing the principal events recorded. It should be explained that the entries were made by clerks, under the direction of the acting adjutant; the latter therefore not being responsible for the somewhat erratic orthography and grammatical construction.

Hd. Qrs. 5th Inft'y
Fort Howard. 29th September. 1834

Spe Order
No. 17

The Detachments of Recruits destined to Fort Winnebago, will proceed tomorrow morning to that Post with as little delay as possible, under the command of Sergt. Leach of (I) Company 5th Inft'y. On arriving at Fort Winnebago, Sergeant Leach will report to the Commanding Officer, and deliver the papers of the Detachment.

By order of Bt. Brig. Genl. Brook
(Signed) W. Chapman,
Adjt. 5th Inft'y.

[1] See *ante*, p. 67.—Ed.

Hd. Qrs. Fort Winnebago
Oct. 8th 1834.

Order }
No. 130 }

1. The Recruits who arrived here on the 5th inst. are assigned to Comp'ys as follows.— To Comp'y (C) Dominick Flannaghan & James Mc Kinzie. To (D) Carey Aplin, Michel Casey & Hiram Stark. To (E) Wm Carson, Thos. Farrol, Michael Foley, Jas. Mc Donald. Jeremiah Thompson & Thos. Mc Gowan. To (F) Lewis Hanawold, John Nixon, George Smith & George Wood.

2. The above named Recruits, will not be liable to detail for armed service till further orders, a n.com'sd Officer from each Comp'y, will drill the recruits belonging to that Comp'y every day, Sundays excepted, from 10 to 11 O'Clock A. M. and from 3 to 4 O'Clock P. M.— The subalterns will superintend the drill, alternating each week about commencing with (C)

3. Private Aplin of (D) will be reported as learning Music.

4. Sergt. Wilkinson will be reported for duty.

By Order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. D. Van Cleve,
Act. Adj.

Head. Qrs. Fort Winnebago
Oct. 10th 1834.

Order }
No 132 }

1t — Before a garrison court Martial of which Capt Low is president was tried,

1t Mus. Benj. Yeomans of (F) Company, 5th Infantry, Charge — 1t Mus. Benj. Youmans of (F) Company 5th Infartry is Charged with being absent from the garrison of Fort Winnebago between Tattoo & revilee on the night of 30th Sept. and morning of 1t of Oct. without permission from the proper authority

Charge 2d — Crossing the Fox river without permission during the above specified time.

Charge 3d — Attempting to bring whiskey across Fox river bridge in violation of Garison orders at the time also Specified

Plea — To which Charges the prisoner pleaded as follows — Charge 1t Guilty Charge 2d not Guilty Charge 3d not Guilty

Finding & sentence} The Court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced confirm his plea to 1t charge. 2d Charge and 3d Charge not proven and do sentence him to have one months pay $6,00 stopped to have a ball & chain attached to his leg and put to labour for 10 days during the interval of which he is to be confined to the Guard house

2d — Corpl. James Scott of (E) company 5th Infy

Corpl. James Scott of (E) company 5th Infy is charged with being drunk on the 8th Oct., 1834 at Fort Winnebago, M. T.

Plea — To which charge the prisoner pleaded not Guilty

Finding & sentence} The court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced do find the prisoner Corpl. James Scott, Guilty of the Charge prefered against him, and do sentence him to be reduced to the ranks in his Company.

3d — The forgoing proceedings of the Garison Court Martial; of which Capt. Low is president, are approved, and the sentences awarded the prisoners; Mus. Yeomans and Corpl. Scott will be carried into effect.

4th — The court is dissolved

By Order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. Van Cleve
Act. Adjt.

Head Qrs. Fort Winnebago
Oct. 16th 1834

Order } No 137 }

1st — Before a garison court Martial of which Capt. Low is president was tried

Corpl. Farnam of (F) Company 5th Infantry

Charge; Conduct unbecoming an non commissioned officer

Specification 1st; In this that the said Corpl. Farnam did

introduce ardent spirits in to the Hospital Kitchen and encourage disorderly conduct in the Hospital at Fort Winnebago on or about the 10th Oct. 1834

Specification 2d; In this that the said Corpl. Farnam did cause or persuade private Mc Loughlin of (C) Company one of the attendants to drink of ardent spirits at the Hospital untill he was drunk at Fort Winnebago on or about the 10th of Oct. 1834

Plea 3 — To which Charge and its Specification the prisoner pleaded not guilty

Finding & sentence) The court on the testimony adduced find the prisoners as follows

Guilty of the 1st specification, 2d Specification not proven, Guilty of the Charge and do sentence him to be reduced to the rank of a private sentinel

2d — The foregoing proceedings of the garison court Martial of which Capt. Low is president are approved and the sentence awarded the prisoner will be carried into effect.

3d — The Court is dissolved

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. Van Cleve
Act. Adjt.

Head Qrs. Fort Winnebago
Oct. 28th 1834

Order No 143

1st — A garison court Martial will assemble at 10 Oclock this morning for the trial of such Prisoners as may be brought before it Lieut. Johnston President
" Hooe
" Ruggles } Members

2d The troops will be mustered and inspected by Companies at 10 oclock A. M. on the last day of the month commencing with E. Labour will cease at ½ past 1 oclock P. M. the day proceding and the guard will not be relieved until after the inspection is completed. The rolls and Company books will be examined at the office of the Command-

ing officer immediately after troop the day following the Muster

3d On the 1st of Nov. and untill further orders the surgeons Call will be given at 10 minutes after 8 oclock A. M. The signal for pease on the trencher at ½ past 8 oclock A. M. Fatigue drum at 9 oclock A. M. Assembly drum at 2 oclock P. M. Signal for Roast Beef at ½ past 2 oclock P. M. and Fatigue drum at 3 oclock P. M.

4th The guard will be turned off at 10 oclock A. M. the first signal to be given 15 minutes before that time excepting on saturdays when the signal for inspection will be given at 10 and that for guard mounting at ½ past 10 oclock A. M.

5th Privt. Robinson of Company (E) will be reported on extra duty under the orders of the Act. Q. M.

6th The resignation of Corporal Post is accepted to take effect this day subject to the approval of the Col. of the Regt.

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 11 — February 26th 1835

1 The troops will be mustered and inspected by Companies on the last day of the month at 10 oclock A. M. commencing with (E). The guard will not be releived until after the inspection is Completed. The Rolls will be examined and signed at the office of the commanding officer on Monday Morning Next immediately after guard Mounting. The party procureing logs will be Mustered absent.

2d — On the 1st of the Month the following alterations in the beats will take place. Surgeons Call 20 Minutes before 8 o'clock A. M. Pease on the trencher at 8 oclock Fatigue drum at ½ past 8 oclock Assembly drum at ½ past 1 o'clock P. M. Signal for Roast beef at 2 oclock and Fatigue drum at ½ past 2 oclock P. M.

3d — The guard will be turned off at 9 oclock A. M. the

first signal to be given 15 Minutes before that time excepting on saturdays when the signal for inspection will be given 30 Minutes after 9 and that for guard Mounting at 10 oclock A. M.

By Order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
March 8th 1835

Order No. 13

1st — The irregular and unmilitary Manner of relieveing sentinels, which some of the corporals have fallen into must be corrected and the officer of the day is required to arrest any one of them who shall deviate from the established and usal mode of conducting the relief.

2d — All the ashes carried from the garison will be deposited at the place where slops are required to be emtied & the Police Tubs will be emtied into the mens sink existing orders require this, and measures will be adopted by the commanding officer to detect all further deviation from it.

3d — Hereafter horses are not to come within the gates of the circular paleing which incloses the garison

By Order of Lieut. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEAVE.
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
April 21st 1835

Order No. 30

All Canoes belonging to individuals in the garrison will hereafter be kept near the bridge and under the charge of sentinel No. 4 during the day & No. 5 in the night. The sentinels will be instructed to permit no enlisted man to use them without being Passed by an officer or an non-commissioned officer of the guard

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signd) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 32 April 24th 1835

The Asst. Commissary will pay in Flour to the Companies of this garrison the amount due them respectively from the subsistance Dept. in consequence of the failure of the contractor to furnish beans, such arrangements will be made by the superintendent of the bake house as will ensure a small daily increase of the bread part of the Ration until the amount due the Companies shall have been consumed

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Sgd.) H. P. VANCLEAVE Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 34 April 28th 1835

1st The troops will be Mustered and inspected on the 30th Inst. at 8 oclock A. M. by Companies Commencing with E. Labour will cease at half past 1 oclock tomorrow until the inspection is completed and the guard will not be releived until that time. The Rolls will be examined and signed at the office of the commanding officer on the Morning following Muster

2d On the first of May until otherwise ordered the surgeons Call will beat 20 minutes before 7 oclock A. M. Pease on the trencher at 7 oclock A. M. Fatigue drum at half past 7 oclock A. M. Assembly drum at half past 12 oclock M. Roast Beef at 1 oclock P. M. Fatigue drum at half past 1 oclock P. M.

3d The hour for turning off the guard will be 8 oclock A. M., the first call to be given 15 minutes before that time excepting on saturdays, on that day the signal for inspection will be given at 8 oclock and that for guard mounting at half past 8 oclock A. M. Fatigue drum will beat as soon as the call for guard Mounting is given. Other signals are as they are at Present.

4th When Not otherwise ordered the guard will mount

in uniform and it is expected that each individual will habitually present himself for this duty, with his clothing arms & accoutrements in high order.

5th The Flag will be hoisted daily at troop when the weather is suitable, the officer of the day will cause it to be lowered when ever wind or rain renders it necessary during the day

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler,
Sgd. H. P. VANCLEAVE Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
May 4th 1835

Order No. 37

1st The following extract from the proceedings of a Council of administration held on the 14th of Sept. 1832 is published for the information of all Concerned. The Camp Women of this Post will wash for the officers & soldiers and at the following Rates. 50 Cents per Dozen or two dollars per Month for single gentlemen, four dollars per Month for Married officers, 50 Cents per Month additional for every Child or Serveant. They may wash for 50 Cents per Month for the soldiers.

2d The Ice house will be opened every Morning at Fatigue drum after Revelly by Sergeant Van Camp when families will supply themselves for the day

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
May 14th 1835

Order No. 39

1st The drill of Companies will Commence and take place daily Sundays excepted when the weather permits at 9 O.Clock A. M. and at 5 O'Clock P. M. Continueing one hour each time, the appropriate signals will be given by

the Guard. As a new system of *Tacticks* May in a short time be expected Company Commanders will do well to Confine their attention for the present principly to such parts of the drill as will least likely undergo a Change

2d Pvt. Chellis of E will be releived from extra duty by Pvt. Healey of the same Company

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signd) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 40 — May 16th 1835

1st A Council of administration will Convene to day at 6 oclock P. M. for the transaction of such business as may be brought before it. The Council will Consist of Bvt. Major Clark, Capt. Low and Lt. Johnston Members Lt. Vancleave Secretary.

2d The Council fixed the following prices to the sutlers goods which haveing been approved they are published for All Concerned. Beer 75 Cents per gallon or 12½ Cents per pint Crackers 18¾ Cents per pound. Brooms 31¼ Cents each

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 42 — May 24th 1835

The Lieut. Col. Commanding being about to leave the Post Surrenders the Charge of it to Bvt. Maj. Clark, all Concerned will govern themselves accordingly. In performing this last official act he tenders to all his best wishes for their health, happiness, and prosperity

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
Signed, H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
May 24th 1835

Order No. 43

Bvt. Maj. Clark assumes Command of the Post as Indicated in order No. 42 of this date, existing orders & regulations of the Garison will be adhered to

By order of Bt. Maj. Clark
Signd H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
May 30th 1835

Order No. 47

1st The 2d Section of the Military road Contemplated in General Order No. 20 of the 1st Ultimo will be Commenced on Monday next[1]

2d Company C and E. will first be employed on it

3d Company D will encamp near Duck Creek* and work towards the Fort (*Make a bridge a cross it)

4th Company C will encamp near Whitneys store house the Ouisconsin and Meet Company E which will Commence at Fox River and for the Present lodge in Quarters

5th The extra and daily duty Men one Gardner for each Company and the noneffective will necessarily remain at the Fort.

6th The Guard Will be reduced to one Non Commissioned officer and 4 Privates one of which Will report to the nonCommissioned officer Specially detailed for police and receive his orders

7th Mason of D now reported learning Music will be reported for duty as a Private

8th Parker of C attendant in Hospital will be relieved by Prouty of the same Company

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Signed) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 89.— ED.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 48 — June 4th 1835

The Guard will habitually dress in white Jackets and Forage Caps until further Orders

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Signd) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS 5TH INFANTRY
Order No. — FORT DEARBORN 29th June 1835

Bvt. Brig-Genl Brook Col. of the 5th Regiment of Infantry having been orded to this Post on a General Court Martial takes this oppertunity of expressing his sincere pleasure in witnessing the good Conduct of this Command evinces particular by its Moral behaviour and Character doing themselves high Credit in the opinion of officers and citizens he has not had an oppertunity from particular Circumstances of inspecting it Critically, but has noted both its drill and Police with great satisfaction, he therefore tenders both to the officers and men his best respects for their Military efficacy and Moral worth

Signd Bvt. Brig Genl BROOK Commg, 5th Infy

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 53 — July 3d 1835

To morrow being the anniversary of american Independance a national salute will be fired at one oclock P. M. under the directions of Lt. Collinsworth. The Company on duty at the Fort will also be under arms, as indicated in No. 92 Genl. Regulations

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Signed) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order } Sept. 24th 1835.
No. 68 }

Upon the application of Pvt. Nelson of D Company a court of enquiry will Convene tomorrow at 10 oclock A. M. to investigate the facts relative to his Conduct while a sentinel on Post on the 18th Instant, when it is reported a personal encounter occured between him and a Winnebago Indian which has eventuated in the death of the latter

The Court will be Composed of Capt. Low President Lieuts. Johnston and Lacy Members Asst. Surgeon McDougal recorder and will render its opinion relative to the Culpability of Nelson[1]

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Signd) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order } Oct. 1st 1835
No. 71 }

Lieut. Collinsworth will relieve Lieut. Johnston as Treasurer of the Post fund and will also take charge of the Post Library

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Sgnd) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order } Oct. the 4th 1835
No. 72 }

Major Green assumes Command of Fort Winnebago all concerned will govern themselves accordingly. Existing orders and regulations for the government of the garrison will remain in full force until Modified or Countermanded.

By order of Maj. Green
(Signd) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

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[1] The book does not, however, contain further reference to this matter.—ED.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO

Spec. Order No. 11 } Oct. 5th 1835

Sergt. Brown of E Company 5th Infantry will proceed to Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) in Mr. Rolette's boat and will take under his charge Pvts Peables and Harris deserters from the 1st Infantry. Sergt. Brown on his arival at Fort Crawford will report to the Commanding officer of the Post, and will return by the earliest oppertunity

By order of Maj. Green

(Signed) J. T. COLLINSWORTH

Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO

Order No. 87 } November 12th 1835

From information received by the Commanding officer, it appears that some pretentions is made to sundry buildings such as Stables &c as privates property by individuals of this command. No such Claim Can be admitted. All or any buildings that May have been, or may hereafter be put up are and will be Considered as public property

The permission granted to any person or persons to put up any building or buildings, being a Matter of accommodation will not entitle any to the right of transfering such building or buildings by sale or otherwise. When the individual or individuals for whose Convenience buildings have been erected in the vicinity of the garrison, leaves the Post and ceases to occupy them for the purposes for which they were erected they will be Considered in the hands of the Quarter Master and disposed of as Circumstances may require, under the directions of the Commanding officer; The building that is present used as a Hospital stable, will be put in good repair for the accommodation of the horses of the surgeon of the Post, as soon as it Conveniently Can be done. No building or enclosure of any description will hereafter be established on this reserva-

tion without the special permission — and the foregoing Conditions expressed in this order

By order of Major Green
Signed, J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
November 12th 1835

Order }
No. 88 }

The Commanding officer directs that so much of the order of this Morning on the subject of stables &c be Modified as follows Viz. That when an officer is about to leave the Post and has no further use for the property it Can be turned over to his successor or other Military friend belonging to the Post and not to the Quarter Master. The intention and object of the order being only to prevent the establishment of private Claims on the public reservation by any building, or enclosures that have been erected or that May hereafter be erected on the same

By order of Maj. Green
Signd J. T. COLLINSWORTH,
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS FORT WINNEBAGO
Feb 18 1836

Order }
No. 11 }

The Major Commanding hase the painful duty to anonce to the command the death of Brevt Major N Clark,[1] he will be buried to-Morrow at 2 Oclock with the honnours of War, when all present except those persons who may be expressly excused will appere under arms in full uniform. The Commanding officer, directs that the escort, [be] composed of four Companies, which in accordance with his owne feelings as well as what is due to the deceased he will command in person. all officers of this command will ware black crape, attached to the hilts of there swords, &

[1] See Mrs. Van Cleve's *Three Score Years and Ten*, pp. 105–107.— ED.

as testimony of respect for the deceased the like bage [badge] will be worn for the period 30 days, the Surgeon of the Post will act as Chaplain

By order of Major Green
Signed J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Agt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No 98
23 July 1836

I. Not more than Three men per Company will go on pass at the same time, and on their return they will report in person to their Company Officer, should they not return punctually at the expiration of their permission *or* Should be in a state of intoxication, they will be refused passes for the next 30 days, or confined for trial or *not* at the discretion of their Company Officer.

II. All passes must be Countersigned by the Commanding Officer.

III. Private Mc Donald of "E" Company will be reported on Extra duty "Herdsman" under the Orders of the Actg. Asst. Qr. Master

By Order of Capt. Low
"Signed" J. H. WHIPPLE
Act. Adjt.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

BY ALFRED AUGUSTUS JACKSON.

Black Hawk was chief of a band of Sac Indians. The Sacs are supposed to have come from Canada at an early date.[1] They lived for a long time in the vicinity of Rock Island. Their main village was located at the junction of the Rock and Mississippi rivers. This village, Black Hawk says, had existed for over a hundred years.[2] In this village, he claims to have been born in 1767.[3] The Sacs and Foxes formed a sort of confederacy, and lived together in friendly relations.

In 1804,[4] a treaty was made with the Sac and Fox Indians at St. Louis, by Gen. William Henry Harrison, by which these tribes relinquished their claims to the lands bounded by the Mississippi, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin rivers. The tribes were not immediately removed from the lands described in the treaty, but were permitted to live and hunt upon them so long as the government owned them. Although this treaty was ratified several times, Black Hawk always insisted that his people had not consented to the document, and were not bound by it.[5]

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[1] *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk, dictated by himself* (St. Louis ed., 1882), p. 11; this will be referred to later, as "Black Hawk's Autobiography." See also, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 136. For bibliography of the Black Hawk War, see *Id.*, xii, p. 217, *note*.

[2] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 58.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 16.

[4] *Indian Treaties, U. S. Stat. at Large*, vii, p. 84.

[5] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 8.

About 1828, the public lands about Rock Island were offered for sale by the government. The white population in Illinois had increased so rapidly, that in 1830 it numbered about 155,000. In 1831, the Indians became troublesome, and frequent conflicts occurred between them and the whites. Complaints were made to the government by the white settlers, and the tribesmen were required to move to the west side of the Mississippi.[1] A portion of the Sacs and Foxes, under Keokuk, head chief of the Foxes, peaceably removed across the river as required; but Black Hawk and a portion of the Sacs, who were in sympathy with him, refused to leave. It was the custom of the Indians to leave their village and winter in other portions of the country, west of the Mississippi, hunting and trapping. In the spring of 1831, when they returned from their hunting expedition, they found that the whites had taken possession of portions of the lands they had occupied and cultivated.[2] Black Hawk was greatly dissatisfied with this, and ordered the whites away, threatening them with death if they remained.[3] The settlers became alarmed for their safety, and complained to Gov. John Reynolds, of Illinois, who reported the fact to Gen. Edmund P. Gaines of the United States Army.[4]

Reynolds, at the request of Gaines, called out 700 volunteers, and 1,500 responded to the call.[5] With this force, and several companies of regulars, Gaines marched to the mouth of Rock River, whereupon Black Hawk with his band moved to the west side of the Mississippi.[6] Gaines threatened to pursue the Sacs across the river and punish them for their disregard of the treaty. To prevent this, Black Hawk made another treaty with Gaines, by which he agreed to remain on the west side of the river, and not

[1] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 84.
[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 224.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[4] Ford's *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), iii, p. 111.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 113.

to recross it without the consent of the president, or of the governor of Illinois.[1]

Notwithstanding this treaty, the Black Hawk band recrossed the Mississippi below Rock Island, April 6, 1832.[2] This was regarded by Reynolds as an invasion of Illinois, whereupon he issued a call for volunteers, to meet at Beardstown April 22, to protect the settlers and drive the Indians from the State. It may be observed that Black Hawk was not loyal to this government. His sympathies were wholly with the British, and his band was known as the "British band."[3]

It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that Abraham Lincoln first became an historic character. His father and mother were born in Virginia,[4] and soon after their marriage emigrated to Hardin county, Kentucky, where Abraham was born on February 12, 1809. At an early day, his father and mother moved into Indiana, and from there into Illinois.[5]

When Reynolds issued his call for volunteers, April 16, 1832, young Lincoln was living at New Salem, near Springfield, in Sangamon county, about 120 miles south from Rock Island.[6] When the call was issued, Lincoln promptly enlisted, and with many of his neighbors went to Beardstown, in Cass county, about 40 miles northwest of Springfield. At Beardstown, the company which he had joined was organized April 21, by his selection as captain.[7] There was another candidate for the position. The method of

[1] Ford., p. 116.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 116; Lamon's *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1895), p. 100; Wakefield's *History of the War between the U. S. and the Sac and Fox Nations of Indians* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834), p. 10; *Black Hawk and Mexican War Records of Illinois* (Springfield, 1882), p. xv.

[3] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 78; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 289.

[4] Arnold's *Life of Lincoln* (Chicago, 1887), p. 17; Tarbell's *Early Life of Lincoln* (N. Y., 1896), pp. 36, 37.

[5] Arnold, pp. 17, 18, 28.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 31, 32; *Black Hawk and Mexican War Records*, p. 176.

[7] Tarbell, p. 138.

election adopted, was for the two candidates to take separate positions, and let each member of the company form in line with the candidate he preferred. Lincoln's line was much longer than that of the other candidate; he was, therefore, declared elected.[1] In a brief autobiographical sketch made later in life, referring to this election, he said: "Then came the Black Hawk War, and I was elected a captain of volunteers, a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since."

Lincoln was, at this time, only a little over twenty-three years of age. He was not the ignorant man that many have been led to believe. Although his advantages for education were quite limited, and would not compare favorably with those enjoyed by most youth of to-day, they were the same as those of his comrades. While he had not had access to many books, he had read with care everything within his reach. What he had read, he had retained. He was naturally studious and thoughtful, and it is probable that in intelligence and prudence he was the superior, not only of his young companions, but of most of the older pioneers of Illinois. It is almost certain, from the somewhat limited knowledge that we have of his early life, that at the time he was elected captain of this militia company he was a brave, earnest, self-reliant man.

The company of which Lincoln was captain, formed a part of the Fourth Illinois Regiment, commanded by Col. Samuel Thompson.[2] This volunteer force was placed under the command of Gen. Samuel Whiteside, of the Illinois volunteers. April 27, this force, accompanied by the governor (Reynolds), commenced its march to Rock Island,[3] by the way of Oquaka, in Henderson county, and Yellow Banks, on the Mississippi, at which latter place it was expected that boats with provisions would meet it.

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[1] Arnold, p. 30.

[2] Lamon, p. 102; Wakefield, p. 13; Armstrong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War* (Springfield, Ill., 1887), p. 665.

[3] Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln — a History* (N. Y., 1890), i, p. 90.

The column halted at the crossing of Henderson River, in Henderson county, for the purpose of constructing a bridge. An order was here issued forbidding the firing of arms within fifty yards of the camp. Captain Lincoln violated this order, by firing his pistol within the prescribed limits, and was placed under arrest and deprived of his sword for a day.[1]

On the march, a soldier of a company from Sangamon county broke into the officers' quarters in the night, and stole a quantity of liquors. Of course without the knowledge of the captain, the thief supplied Lincoln's company so liberally that in the morning they were unable to march, and were left behind by the army to get sober.[2] Although Lincoln was without fault in the matter, he was again punished, this time by being compelled to wear a wooden sword for two days.

In those early days, Lincoln was as strict and just in his observance and enforcement of the rights of others, as in his later years. There came into the camp of Lincoln's company a poor, hungry Indian, who presented a begging letter from Gen. Lewis Cass, recommending him for his services to the whites. The men were disposed to regard him as a spy, and to treat him accordingly. Lincoln promptly interfered, declaring that this peaceful Indian should not be killed by them. Some of his men charged him with cowardice, whereupon Lincoln replied, "If any man thinks I am a coward, let him test it!" One of the men said, "You are larger and heavier than we are." Lincoln replied, "This you can guard against; choose your weapons." No weapons were chosen, and the incident ended.[3]

From Henderson River, they marched to Yellow Banks, where they arrived on May 3. There they waited three days for the provision boats, and then proceeded to the

[1] Lamon, p. 102; Herndon and Weik's *Herndon's Lincoln* (Chicago, 1889), i, p. 95.

[2] Lamon, p. 103.

[3] Arnold, p. 34; Herndon, i, p. 95.

mouth of Rock River, where they arrived May 7,[1] and found General Atkinson with a force of regulars, and were mustered into the United States service.

In the memoir of Jefferson Davis by his wife,[2] it is stated that when this volunteer force was called out by Governor Reynolds, Gen. Winfield Scott was in command at Fort Snelling, and dispatched thence to the seat of war two lieutenants to muster in the Illinois volunteers. One of these lieutenants was said to be a "very fascinating young man, of easy manners and affable disposition;" while "the other was equally pleasant and extremely modest;" it is further stated that "a tall, homely young man, dressed in a suit of blue jeans," presented himself to the lieutenants as the captain of a company of volunteers, and was with the others duly sworn in; and that the oath of allegiance was administered to the "young man in blue jeans" by the "fascinating" young lieutenant, first named.

This "fascinating" young officer was Jefferson Davis, who was nearly a year the senior of Lincoln; his "extremely modest" colleague was Robert Anderson, who at the beginning of the War of Secession was in command at Fort Sumter; and the tall, homely, young captain in "blue jeans," was Abraham Lincoln. There may be a grain of truth in this romantic statement, but it is doubtful. At the time Lincoln was elected captain, and mustered into service, Scott was not at Fort Snelling; he was in the East, and did not reach Chicago until July 8.[3] Lieut. Jefferson Davis did not, at that time, come from Fort Snelling; he had for a considerable time been with Col. Zachary Taylor at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien). Neither did Anderson come from Fort Snelling, but from Jefferson Barracks, at St. Louis. It is possible that Lieutenant Davis administered the oath of allegiance, but I am not

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 234.

[2] *Jefferson Davis — a Memoir* (N. Y., 1890), i, p. 182.

[3] *Memoir of Lt. Gen. Scott* (N. Y., 1864), i, p. 219; Mansfield's *Gen. Winfield Scott* (N. Y., 1858), p. 203; *Western Annals* (Cincinnati, 1846), p. 800; *Hist. of Cook Co., Ill.*, p. 204.

aware of any record of such an event. Indeed it is stated upon what is believed to be good authority, that Lincoln and his company were mustered into service by Colonel Taylor himself.[1]

At Rock Island, it was agreed between Generals Atkinson and Whiteside,[2] that the latter should march up the easterly bank of Rock River to the Prophetstown, an Indian village on the east bank of that river, and there rest his army and await the arrival of Atkinson's command in boats. Whiteside proceeded on his march, but only halted at Prophetstown long enough to destroy the village, then proceeded up the river about forty miles, to Dixon's ferry, where Dixon now stands, reaching there May 12.[3] At Dixon's, Whiteside found two battalions of mounted men, under the command of Majors Isaiah Stillman and David Bailey.[4]

Meanwhile, Black Hawk had preceded Whiteside up the easterly bank of the Rock, and at the time of the arrival of the latter at Dixon's was at or near Sycamore Creek. It was the purpose of Whiteside to await at Dixon's the arrival of Atkinson. But Stillman's men became impatient, and desired to march farther north, and ascertain the whereabouts of the fugitive Indians. This the general permitted them to do.[5] May 12, Stillman commenced his march northerly, still along the easterly bank of the Rock.[6] On the afternoon of the 14th, he went into camp at Sycamore Creek, now known as Stillman's Run, in Ogle county, and about eight miles from Black Hawk's camp.[7]

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[1] Legend attached to portrait of Col. Zachary Taylor, in rooms of Chicago Historical Society.

[2] Ford, p. 117; Duis, *Good Old Times in McLean Co., Ill.* (Bloomington, 1874), p. 101.

[3] Tarbell, p. 141; Wakefield, p. 16.

[4] Ford, p. 117.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 117; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 235.

[6] Ford, p. 118; Drake's *Great Indian Chief of the West* (Cincinnati, 1854), p. 147.

[7] Brown's *History of Illinois* (N. Y., 1844), p. 361; Tarbell, p. 142; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 235.

Black Hawk says that when he learned that these white soldiers were near him, he sent three of his young men with a white flag to conduct them to his camp, that he might hold a council with them, and with them descend Rock River again, and return to the west side of the Mississippi. He also sent five others to see what might take place.[1] The three Indians with the flag entered Stillman's camp, and were taken prisoners; the other five, when seen by Stillmen's men, were pursued without orders or officers. When Black Hawk found that his men were being chased by the whites, he formed an ambush, and upon the approach of the latter attacked them so vigorously that they turned and fled.[2] Eleven of Stillman's men were killed. The regiment to which Lincoln's company belonged, was meanwhile at Dixon's Ferry. The next day, Whiteside's force — among them, Lincoln's company — marched to the scene of this disaster and buried the dead.[3]

Later, when Lincoln was in congress, he gave a humorous account of his part in this affair.[4] Lewis Cass was a candidate for the presidency, and his war record was referred to, showing his eminent services to the country, whereupon Lincoln made the following reference to his own military career: "By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk War, I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career, reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass to Hull's surrender; and like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly, on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is, he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If

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[1] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 96; Moses's Illinois (Chicago, 1889), p. 367.

[2] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 96; Tarbell, p. 142; Ford, p. 118; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 320; Brown, pp. 361, 362; Lamon, p. 105; Duis, p. 101.

[3] Lamon, p. 106.

[4] Arnold, p. 37.

General Cass went in advance of me, in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians, it was more than I did,—but I had a good many bloody struggles with the musquitoes; and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.

"Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade Federalism about me, and, thereupon, they should take me up as their candidate for the presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero."

The time for which the volunteers enlisted having nearly expired, they now became clamorous for their discharge. Whiteside marched them back to Ottawa, in La Salle county, where they were discharged from service: on May 28, Lincoln's company was mustered out, and his office of captain terminated.

Lincoln was evidently a good soldier. It is said of him, that he was always ready for an emergency; that he complacently endured hardships; that he never complained, nor did he fear danger. When fighting was expected, or danger apprehended, he was the first to say, "Let's go;"[1] that he had the confidence of every man of his company, and that they strictly obeyed his orders.[2]

Prior to the discharge of the volunteers commanded by Whiteside, Governor Reynolds had issued another call for 2,000 volunteers.[3] He also made a personal appeal to the volunteers who were mustered out on the 28th, to re-enlist and serve for twenty days more, until the new regiments were formed.[4] In response to this appeal, Lincoln again enlisted, and on May 29 was, this time by Lieut. Robert Anderson, mustered into a company of mounted independ-

[1] Ford, pp. 123, 124; Lamon, p. 113; Moses, p. 369.

[2] Lamon, p. 112.

[3] Smith's *Hist. of Wis.*, iii, p. 175; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 324. Ford, p. 124; Lamon, p. 113; Armstrong, pp. 676, 677.

ent rangers, under Capt. Elijah Iles.[1] Lincoln furnished his arms and horse; the former were valued at $40, and the horse and equipments at $120.[2]

Iles's company of rangers was held by General Atkinson in reserve for special duty. A few days after being mustered in, they were sent by the general to open communication with Galena, and to ascertain the whereabouts of the Indians.[3] Before setting out on this expedition, they reported to Colonel Taylor, at Dixon's Ferry. The company marched to Galena and ascertained the condition of the settlements, then returned to Atkinson's camp at Ottawa.[4] The term of their enlistment having expired, they were, on June 16, mustered out by Lieutenant Anderson.[5]

On the same day, Lincoln again enlisted, this time as a private in an independent company, under Capt. Jacob M. Early, and was again mustered in by Lieutenant Anderson. Once more he furnished his arms and horse, the former being valued at $15, but the horse and equipments at only $85.[6] After Fort Sumter was evacuated, Anderson, then a major, went to Washington and called upon President Lincoln. The latter said to him, "Major, do you remember ever meeting me before?" The major replied, "No, Mr. President, I have no recollection of ever having had the pleasure before." "My memory is better than yours," responded the president, "You mustered me into the service of the United States in 1832, at Dixon's Ferry, in the Black Hawk War."[7]

Atkinson's army was now divided into three brigades, under Generals James D. Henry, M. K. Alexander, and Alexander Posey. Henry's brigade (organized June 20) formed the right wing, Alexander's (organized June 16)

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[1] Lamon, p. 113; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176; Moses, p. 370.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176.

[3] Tarbell, pp. 147–152.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 152.

[5] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176; Armstrong, p. 691

[6] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176.

[7] Arnold, p. 36.

the center, and Posey's (organized June 12) the left wing. June 25, the brigades of Alexander and Henry reached Dixon's.[1]

On the 22nd, Captain Early was ordered by Atkinson to proceed to Dixon's with his company of spies, and report to Gen. Hugh Brady, of the United States army, who was then in command of the regulars.[2] Brady being afterwards taken ill, was obliged to turn over his command to Atkinson.[3] On the 25th, a battle occurred at Kellogg's Grove,[4] a few miles north of Dixon's Ferry, between a small force under Major Dement, and a party of Sacs, in which five whites and nine Indians were killed. Dement having called for assistance, Early's company marched all night and reached the scene of the conflict at sunrise the next morning.[5] The Indians had fled before the arrival of these reinforcements. It is probable that Early's company promptly returned to Dixon's Ferry.[6]

On the 27th, Henry's brigade and the regulars, under Zachary Taylor,[7] accompanied by Atkinson, resumed their line of march up the east bank of the Rock. Early's company of rangers, in which Lincoln was a private, was with Henry. On June 30,[8] this force crossed the Territorial line into what is now Wisconsin, at Turtle Village (of Winnebagoes), where Beloit now stands, and camped on the bank

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[1] Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory* (Madison, 1885), pp. 145, 217, 218.

[2] *Records of War Dept.;* Brown, p. 367.

[3] Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest* (Wheaton, Ill., 1879), p. 384.

[4] Ford, p. 129; Smith, i, p. 170; Tarbell, p. 154; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 243; Brown, p. 367; Barrett's *Abraham Lincoln* (Cincinnati and N. Y., 1865), p. 43.

[5] Lamon, p. 178. This author mistakes Gratiot's Grove for Kellogg's Grove.

[6] Brown, p. 367.

[7] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 246.

[8] Wakefield, p. 4; C. Buckley, in Beloit *Free Press*, Oct. 15, 1891, and Jan. 21, 1892; Barrett, p. 43; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 246; Ford, p. 131; Moses, p. 372.

of the river about a mile above the village. At this time, however, the village had been abandoned.[1]

On July 1, the army continued its march up Rock River.[2] After they had proceeded two or three miles, they saw on the high ground on the west side of the river, an Indian, who was probably a spy.[3] This high ground was undoubtedly the bluff on the west side of the river, north of Beloit. Wakefield, who was with the army, says that they had proceeded a few miles farther, when they came to the place where the Indians who had taken the two Hall girls prisoners, had stayed several days; and that it was a strong position, where the captors could have withstood a powerful force. This was, undoubtedly, what is now called Black Hawk's Grove, on the lands of Levi St. John and J. P. Wheeler. This statement of Wakefield's, to some extent corroborates a like statement in the *History of Rock County*, by Guernsey and Willard, published in 1856.[4] It is also stated in this history that the Hall girls were with the Indians, and were here ransomed.[5] Lincoln was, therefore, here with his company, under General Henry, on July 1, 1832.

When the first agricultural settlers came into Rock county, the tent poles and remains of the Indian camp fires were still to be found in Black Hawk's Grove,[6] and are remembered by some of these settlers, who are still with us. They indicated a more permanent camp than that of a retreating Indian force.

When Black Hawk was in Illinois and in the mining country, he did not have with him his old men and women and children. They were, however, in his company at the Battle of the Bad Ax.[7] They had joined him at some point

[1] Guernsey and Willard's *History of Rock County, Wis.* (Janesville, 1856), p. 20.

[2] Ford, p. 131.

[3] Wakefield, p. 42.

[4] Guernsey and Willard, p. 19.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 107.

after he left Illinois. It is therefore probable that Black Hawk's Grove was the headquarters of his band, from which raids were made in different directions.

Wakefield further says: "We had not marched but a few miles from the place before one of our forward scouts came back, meeting the army in great haste and stated that they had discovered a fresh trail of Indians, where they had just went along in front of us. Major Ewing, who was in front of the main army some distance, immediately formed his men in line of battle and marched in that order in advance of the main army about three-quarters of a mile. We had a thick wood to march through, where the undergrowth stood very high and thick. We marched in abreast in this order about two miles, not stopping for the unevenness of the ground, or anything else — but keeping in line of battle all the time, until we found the Indians had scattered, then we resumed our common line of march, which was in three divisions."[1]

The thick woods referred to by Wakefield, were undoubtedly the heavy timber lying between Janesville and Milton, along the Milton road. As Early's company of rangers, of which Lincoln was a member, was mounted, it was undoubtedly scouting in advance of the army, on this march through Janesville.

On the evening of July 1, Atkinson's force, or one division of it, camped at or near Storrs Lake, but a short distance east of the village of Milton.[2] The following morning, the army proceeded almost directly north, to nearly the north line of Rock county, where they changed to a northwesterly course, leading to Lake Koshkonong. After marching a few miles, they struck the main trail of Black Hawk's force, which appeared to be about two days' old. Early's rangers were still in advance of the column. The forces were halted, and Major Ewing, Major Anderson, and Captain Early went forward to reconnoitre. Ander-

[1] Wakefield, p. 42.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 43.

son, with his telescope, could see across Lake Koshkonong. I have found no record of the army on July 3. It is alleged that it camped on the north side of Otter Creek, in section 3, in the town of Milton, about two miles from Lake Koshkonong. In 1840, the late Isaac T. Smith located a portion of section 10, adjoining section 3; he made a claim to the land March 4, 1837, before it was in market. At that time, posts set in the ground, where beeves were hauled up to be dressed, were still standing on the south side of Otter Creek, also in section 3.[1]

While at this camp, the scouts captured and brought in an old blind Sac Indian.[2] When the army marched, they left the Indian some food and a barrel of water; but when the forces of either Posey or Alexander arrived, the poor fellow was shot by their scouts, thus being the only Indian known to have been killed in Rock county.

On the evening of July 3, Alexander arrived with his men. He had been sent to Plum River, on the Mississippi, to prevent the escape of the enemy in that direction. July 4, Major Ewing, with his spy battalion, and Colonel Collins and Col. Gabriel Jones were directed to follow the trail up the Rock. Finding that it continued up stream, they returned to camp late in the evening. July 6, Atkinson marched to Burnt Village, at the junction of Whitewater Creek with Bark River.[3] That night, Posey's brigade and Col. Henry Dodge's regiment arrived at the mouth of the Whitewater.[4] Captain Early also returned from a scout, and reported finding a fresh trail, three miles beyond, but this proved to be a mistake. The following day, Atkinson marched several miles up the Rock, and on the 8th returned to the mouth of the Whitewater. Winnebago Indians now reported Black Hawk on the island in Lake Koshkonong, now called Black Hawk's Island. On the

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[1] MS. memoir of Isaac T. Smith.

[2] Ford, p. 131.

[3] Wakefield, p. 45; Moses, p. 373; Brown, p. 368.

[4] Ford, p. 132.

9th, Early's company crossed to the island on rafts, but no Indians were found there.[1]

I have been thus particular in tracing Captain Early's company, for the purpose of showing that Lincoln was with the right wing of Atkinson's army, and marched up the Rock, through Beloit and Janesville, and that he was neither with the left wing of the army under Posey, nor with the center under Alexander. Early's rangers were with Atkinson, scouting on July 2, while Alexander did not join Atkinson until the evening of July 3, and Posey did not come up until the evening of July 6.

By July 10, the provisions of the army were exhausted, and the soldiers were suffering. Henry and Alexander were sent to Fort Winnebago for supplies; Posey was ordered to Fort Hamilton; Taylor, with the regulars, went to Prairie du Chien; Emery's regiment returned to Dixon's with Capt. Charles Dunn, who had been seriously wounded at Burnt Village; while Early's rangers were mustered out, and discharged from the service.[2]

Lincoln was mustered out July 10.[3] The next day he started with his fellows, for his home in Illinois. That night, his horse and that of a comrade were stolen, and they were obliged to walk, except when other more fortunate members of the company permitted them to ride while they walked. The two horseless rangers went from the mouth of the Whitewater to Peoria, and then down Illinois River in a boat.[4] As Peoria lies a little west of south of Janesville, they must have passed through Rock county. It is highly probable that they returned over the trail, through Black Hawk's Grove, over which they had marched only a few days before.

There was issued to Lincoln, as a soldier in the Black Hawk War, on April 16, 1852, under the act of congress of 1850, a land-warrant for 40 acres, which was located by

[1] Ford, pp. 132–134.

[2] Wakefield, p. 45.

[3] Tarbell, p. 155; Lamon, p. 118.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 118.

him in Iowa. Another warrant for 120 acres was issued to him on April 22, 1856, under the act of 1855; this he located in Illinois.[1]

While Lincoln's service in the Black Hawk War was brief, it must have made him familiar with the method of equipping and handling soldiers, and have given him knowledge that in after years was of great advantage to him. He demonstrated during the War of Secession that he possessed high military capacity. As a strategist, he was the equal of the best, and the superior of most of his generals.

It is of interest to recall the names of those connected with the Black Hawk War who were or became distinguished in the history of the Northwest, and most of whom were with General Atkinson as he marched through Rock county. Among these, were Col. Zachary Taylor, who won renown in the Mexican War, and afterwards became president; Abraham Lincoln, who also became president; Jefferson Davis, later the president of the Confederate States; Robert Anderson, who commanded Fort Sumter at the beginning of the War of Secession, and later became a major general; Albert Sidney Johnston, who became a general in the Confederate army, and commanded the Southern forces at the battle of Shiloh, where he was killed by the fire of an Illinois regiment; Gen. Henry Dodge, who was twice appointed governor of Wisconsin Territory, twice elected delegate of the Territory in congress, and twice elected to the United States Senate; W. S. Harney, in later years a general in the United States army; Col. William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton; Col. Nathan Boone, a son of Daniel Boone, of Kentucky; Maj. Sidney Breese, later chief justice of the supreme court of Illinois; Capt. Charles Dunn, who became a member of the Wisconsin supreme court; Capt. John H. Roundtree, who for many years was a member of the State senate; John Reynolds, governor of Illinois; O. H. Browning, afterwards a United States senator from Illinois, and secretary of the interior; John J. Hardin, who as a general was killed at the battle of Buena

[1] Herndon, p. 101.

Vista, Mexico; E. D. Baker, who became a senator and a general, and was killed at Ball's Bluff, in the War of Secession,—and many others.

Abraham Lincoln was again in Rock county, in 1859. An invitation had been extended to him to deliver the annual address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, at its fair held that year in Milwaukee. He delivered his address on Friday, September 30. Upon his return from Milwaukee, the following day, he accepted an invitation by the Republican club of Beloit to deliver an address in that city. He was met at the railway station by the members of the club, a band of music, and a large number of the citizens of Beloit, and escorted in a carriage to the Bushnell House (now the Goodwin House), where he took dinner. At two o'clock he was escorted to Hanchett's Hall, at the corner of Broad and State streets, where he was introduced to a large and enthusiastic audience by John Bannister, the president of the Republican club, and presented a most conclusive vindication of the principles of the Republican party. His address was a review of the then somewhat famous article, "Popular Sovereignty in the Territories," contributed by Stephen A. Douglas to *Harper's Monthly*, for the preceding month of September.[1] The meeting closed with three hearty cheers for the speaker.

At that time, I was secretary of the Republican club of Janesville. Learning, on the morning of Saturday, that Lincoln was to deliver an address in Beloit in the afternoon of that day,—I had heard the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, at Freeport, in August, 1858,—it seemed to me very desirable that Mr. Lincoln address the Republicans of Janesville. I was at that time living with my partner, James H. Knowlton. Both Mr. and Mrs. Knowlton were out of the city; not wishing, therefore, to take Mr. Lincoln to the home of Judge Knowlton in the latter's absence, I asked William M. Tallman if he would entertain the speaker while in our city, which he assured me he would

[1] *Harper's Monthly*, vol. xix, p. 519.

be pleased to do. I then asked him to accompany me to Beloit, to invite the speaker. I took Judge Knowlton's carriage and driver, and with Mr. Tallman started for Beloit. On Main street, near Milwaukee street, we met Daniel Wilcox, one of the publishers of the *Gazette*, and I requested him also to accompany us to Beloit, which he did. When we reached Hanchett's Hall, Lincoln had commenced his address. At its close, we introduced ourselves to him, and extended to him an invitation to return with us to Janesville and address our people that evening. This he consented to do, and we immediately returned to Janesville, reaching there before dusk. Finding James H. Burgess at Beloit, he accepted our invitation to ride back to Janesville with us.

While returning from Beloit to Janesville, we came up what is known as the prairie, or town-line road. This runs near the trail followed by Black Hawk and Atkinson's army. While coming over the prairie between Beloit and Janesville, Lincoln recognized the route over which he had marched twenty-seven years before, and freely talked with us about it.

On reaching Janesville, the news that Lincoln had arrived and would address the people that evening, spread rapidly through the city, and a large audience gathered in what was then known as Young America Hall, in the Myers building. He was introduced to the audience by Dr. R. B. Treat, president of the Republican club, and spoke entirely and with great effect, upon the political topics of the day.

Mr. Lincoln remained with the Tallmans until Monday morning. On Sunday, he attended the Congregational Church with the Tallman family, and on Monday morning left Janesville for his home in Illinois. He was never in Wisconsin again.

I have made out the probable itinerary of Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War (1832), as follows:

April 21st, enlisted at Beardstown, Ill.; 22nd to 26th, at Beardstown, Ill.; 27th, commenced the march to the mouth

of the Rock River; April 27th to May 3rd, on the march from Beardstown to Yellow Banks; 3rd to 7th, marched from Yellow Banks to Fort Armstrong, at the mouth of Rock River; 8th, at Fort Armstrong; 9th, commenced the march to Dixon's, by way of the Prophetstown; 10th and 11th, on the march from Fort Armstrong to Dixon's; 12th to 14th, at Dixon's, mustered into service; 15th, marched to Stillman's Run; 16th, returned to Dixon's; 19th, marched north from Dixon's; 20th to 22nd, north of Stillman's Run, searched for Black Hawk; 23rd to 26th, marched to Ottawa; 27th, mustered out at Ottawa, and re-enlisted in company of Capt. Elijah Iles; 29th, at Ottawa, mustered into Capt. Iles's company; May 29th to June 15th, in camp with General Atkinson at Ottawa, and on march to Galena and return; 16th, at Ottawa, mustered out by Robert Anderson; 16th to 20th, at Ottawa, enlisted in the company of Capt. Jacob M. Early; 20th, mustered in; 21st, at Ottawa; 22nd, at Ottawa, ordered by Atkinson to march to Dixon's and report to General Brady; 23rd and 24th, at Dixon's, and scouting in that vicinity; 25th, marched to Kellogg's Grove; 26th, returned from Kellogg's Grove to Dixon's; 27th, marched north on the easterly side of Rock River, with Henry's brigade; 28th and 29th, on the march; 30th, reached Turtle Village, where Beloit now stands; July 1st, marched up Rock River to Black Hawk's Grove, at Janesville, and to Storrs Lake, at Milton; 2nd, marched from Milton north, towards Lake Koshkonong, camped on Otter Creek, and scouted in advance of the army; 3rd, scouted near Lake Koshkonong; 4th, followed Indian trail north of Lake Koshkonong; 5th and 6th, scouted in vicinity of Lake Koshkonong, and marched to Burnt Village, at junction of Whitewater Creek with Bark River; 7th, marched north of Lake Koshkonong; 8th, returned to Burnt Village; 9th, crossed to Black Hawk's Island, in Lake Koshkonong, scouting; 10th, mustered out of service, at Burnt Village; 11th, left Burnt Village for home, by way of Peoria.

Fort Howard, Wisconsin Territory.

Built on west side of Fox River, at Green Bay, 1816. From a daguerreotype taken about 1855.

AN ENGLISH OFFICER'S DESCRIPTION OF WISCONSIN IN 1837.

BY FREDERICK MARRYAT, C. B.[1]

We stopped half an hour at Mackinaw to take in wood and then started for Green Bay, in the Wisconsin territory. Green Bay is a military station; it is a pretty little place, with soil as rich as garden mould. The Fox river debouches here, but the navigation is checked a few miles above the town by the rapids, which have been dammed up into a water-power; yet there is no doubt that as soon as the whole of the Wisconsin lands are offered for sale by the American Government, the river will be made navigable up to its meeting with the Wisconsin which falls into the Mississippi. There is only a portage of a mile and a

[1] The popular writer who is known as "Captain Marryat," wherever English books are read, visited the United States and Canada in 1837–38, and as the result of his travels wrote a work in two volumes, entitled *A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions* (Philadelphia: Cary & Hart, 1839); contemporaneously, he published in London a work with a similar title, in three volumes, devoted entirely to comments on American institutions. In volume i, of the *Diary* proper, pp. 185–205, the captain gives the description of Wisconsin Territory in 1837, which is presented below. He had been traveling through Canada, and at Windsor embarked for Green Bay on the "Michigan, one of the best vessels on Lake Erie; as usual, full of emigrants, chiefly Irish." After leaving Wisconsin, he went up the Mississippi River in a steamboat, to St. Paul, then descended the Mississippi to St. Louis, with a side-trip to the lead-mines in the Galena district, and later leisurely proceeded up the Ohio by relays, in steamboats, thence returning to the cities of the Atlantic coast. Marryat had been a captain in the British navy, but resigned in 1830. At the time of his American visit he was in the full tide of his literary popularity, having published *Snarleyyow* in 1837, previous to leaving home.—Ed.

half between the two, through which a canal will be cut,[1] and then there will be another junction between the lakes and the Far West. It was my original intention to have taken the usual route by Chicago and Galena to St. Louis, but I fell in with Major F——, with whom I had been previously acquainted, who informed me that he was about to send a detachment of troops from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago, across the Wisconsin territory. As this afforded me an opportunity of seeing the country, which seldom occurs, I availed myself of an opportunity to join the party. The detachment consisted of about one hundred recruits, nearly the whole of them Canada patriots, as they are usually called, who, having failed in taking the provinces from John Bull, were fain to accept the shilling[2] from Uncle Sam.

Major F—— accompanied us to pay the troops at the fort, and we therefore had five waggons with us, loaded with a considerable quantity of bread and pork, and not quite so large a proportion of specie, the latter not having as yet become plentiful again in the United States. We set off, and marched fifteen miles in about half a day passing through the settlement Des Péres, which is situated at the rapids of the Fox river. Formerly they were called the Rapids des Péres, from a Jesuit college[3] which had been established there by the French. Our course lay along the banks of the Fox river, a beautiful swift stream pouring down between high ridges, covered with fine oak timber.

The American Government have disposed of all the land on the banks of this river and the lake Winnebago, and consequently it is well settled; but the Winnebago territory in Wisconsin, lately purchased of the Winnebago Indians, and comprising all the prairie land and rich mineral country from Galena to Mineral Point is not yet offered for sale; when it is, it will be eagerly purchased; and the American

[1] See map, *ante*, p. 96.

[2] An English military phrase, signifying enlistment.—Ed.

[3] The mission of St. Francis Xavier, established by Father Claude Allouez in 1671.—Ed.

Government, as it only paid the Indians at the rate of one cent and a fraction per acre, will make an enormous profit by the speculation. Well may the Indians be said, like Esau, to part with their birthright for a mess of pottage; but, in truth, they are *compelled* to sell — the purchase-money being a mere subterfuge, by which it may *appear* as if their lands were not wrested from them, although, in fact, it is.

On the second day we continued our march along the banks of the Fox river, which, as we advanced, continued to be well settled, and would have been more so, if some of the best land had not fallen, as usual, into the hands of speculators, who aware of its value, hold out that they may obtain a high price for it. The country through which we passed was undulating, consisting of a succession of ridges, covered with oaks of a large size, but not growing close as in forests; you could gallop your horse through any part of it. The tracks of deer were frequent, but we saw but one herd of fifteen, and that was at a distance. We now left the banks of the river, and cut across the country to Fond du Lac, at the bottom of Lake Winnebago, of which we had had already an occasional glimpse through the openings of the forest. The deer were too wild to allow of our getting near them; so I was obliged to content myself with shooting wood pigeons, which were very plentiful.

On the night of the third day we encamped upon a very high ridge, as usual studded with oak trees. The term used here to distinguish this variety of timber land from the impervious woods, is *oak openings*. I never saw a more beautiful view than that which was afforded us from our encampment. From the high ground upon which our tents were pitched, we looked down to the left, upon a prairie flat and level as a billiard table, extending, as far as the eye could scan, one rich surface of unrivalled green. To the right, the prairie gradually changed to oak openings, and then to a thick forest, the topmost boughs and heads of which were level with our tents. Beyond them was the whole broad expanse of the Winnebago lake,

smooth and reflecting like a mirror the brilliant tints of the setting sun, which disappeared, leaving a portion of his glory behind him; while the moon in her ascent, with the dark portion of her disk as clearly defined as that which was lighted, gradually increased in brilliancy, and the stars twinkled in the clear sky. We watched the features of the landscape gradually fading from our sight, until nothing was left but broad masses partially lighted up by the young moon.

Nor was the foreground less picturesque; the spreading oaks, the tents of the soldiers, the wagons drawn up with the horses tethered, all lighted up by the blaze of our large fires. Now when I say our large fires, I mean the *large* fires of *America*, consisting of three or four oak trees, containing a load of wood each, besides many large boughs and branches, altogether forming a fire some twenty or thirty feet long, with flames flickering up twice as high as one's head. At a certain distance from this blazing pile you may perceive what in another situation would be considered as a large coffee-pot (before this huge fire it makes a very diminutive appearance). It is placed over some embers drawn out from the mass, which would soon have burnt up coffee-pot and coffee altogether; and at a still more respectful distance you may perceive small rods, not above four or five feet long, bifurcated at the smaller end, and fixed by the larger in the ground, so as to hang towards the huge fire, at an angle of forty degrees, like so many tiny fishing rods. These rods have at their bifurcated ends a piece of pork or ham, or of bread, or perhaps of venison, for we bought some, not having shot any; they are all private property, as each party cooks for himself. Seeing these rods at some distance, you might almost imagine that they were the fishing rods of little imps bobbing for salamanders in the fiery furnace.

In the mean time, while the meat is cooking, and the coffee is boiling, the brandy and whisky are severely taxed, as we lie upon our cloaks and buffalo skins at the front of our tents. There certainly is a charm in this wild sort of

life, which wins upon people the more they practice it; nor can it be wondered at; our wants are in reality so few and so easily satisfied, without the restraint of form and ceremony. How often, in my wanderings, have I felt the truth of Shakespeare's lines in "As You Like It."

> "Now, my co-mates and partners in exile,
> Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
> Than that of painted pomp? Are not these woods
> More free from peril than the envious court?
> Here feel we but the penalty of Adam —
> The seasons' difference."

On the fourth day we descended, crossed the wide prairie, and arrived at the Fond du Lac, where we again fell in with the Fox river, which runs through the Winnebago lake. The roads through the forests had been very bad, and the men and horse shewed signs of fatigue; but we had now passed through all the thickly wooded country, and had entered into the prairie country, extending to Fort Winnebago, and which was beautiful beyond conception. Its features alone can be described; but its effects can only be felt by being seen. The prairies here are not very large, seldom being above six or seven miles in length or breadth; generally speaking, they lie in gentle undulating flats, and the ridges and hills between them are composed of oak openings. To form an idea of these oak openings, imagine an inland country covered with splendid trees, about as thickly planted as in our English parks; in fact, it is English park scenery, Nature having here spontaneously produced what it has been the care and labour of centuries in our own country to effect. Sometimes the prairie will rise and extend along the hills, and assume an undulating appearance, like the long swell of the ocean; it is then called rolling prairie.

Often, when I looked down upon some fifteen or twenty thousand acres of these prairies, full of rich grass, without one animal, tame or wild, to be seen, I would fancy what thousands of cattle will, in a few years, be luxuriating in those pastures, which, since the herds of buffalo

have retreated from them, are now useless, and throwing up each year a fresh crop, to seed and to die unheeded.

On our way we had fallen in with a young Frenchman, who had purchased some land at Fond du Lac, and was proceeding there in company with an American, whom he had hired to settle on it. I now parted company with him; he had gone out with me in my shooting excursions, and had talked of nothing but his purchase: it had water; it had a waterfall; it had, in fact, everything that he could desire; but he thought that after two years he would go home and get a wife; a Paradise without an Eve would be no Paradise at all.

The price of labour is, as may be supposed, very high in this part of the country. Hiring by the year, you find a man in food, board, and washing, and pay him three hundred dollars per annum (about £70 English).

The last night that we bivouacked out was the only unfortunate one. We had been all comfortably settled for the night, and fast asleep, when a sudden storm came on, accompanied with such torrents of rain as would have washed us out of our tents, if they had not been already blown down by the violence of the gale. Had we had any warning, we should have provided against it; as it was, we made up huge fires, which defied the rain; and thus we remained till daylight, the rain pouring on us, while the heat of the fires drying us almost as fast as we got wet, each man threw up a column of steam from his still saturating and still heated garments. Every night we encamped where there was a run of water, and plenty of dead timber for our fire; and thus did we go on, emptying our waggons daily of the bread and pork, and filling up the vacancies left by the removal of the empty casks with the sick and lame, until at last we arrived at Fort Winnebago.

We had not to arrive at the fort to receive a welcome, for when we were still distant about seven miles, the officers of the garrison, who had notice of our coming, made their appearance on horseback, bringing a handsome britchska and gray horses for our accommodation. Those who were

not on duty (and I was one) accepted the invitation, and we drove in upon a road which, indeed, for the last thirty miles had been as level as the best in England. The carriage was followed by pointers, hounds, and a variety of dogs, who were off duty like ourselves, and who appeared quite as much delighted with their run as we were tired with ours. The medical officer attached to the fort, an old friend and correspondent of Mr. Lea of Philadelphia, received me with all kindness, and immediately installed me in one of the rooms in the hospital.

Fort Winnebago is situated between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers at the Portage, the two rivers being about a mile and a half apart; the Fox river running east, and giving its waters to Lake Michigan at Green Bay, while the Wisconsin turns to the west, and runs into the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien. The fort is merely a square of barracks, connected together with palisades, to protect it from the Indians; and it is hardly sufficiently strong for even that purpose. It is beautifully situated, and when the country fills up will become a place of importance. Most of the officers are married, and live a very quiet, and secluded, but not unpleasant life. I stayed there two days, much pleased with the society and the kindness shewn to me; but an opportunity of descending the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, in a keel-boat, having presented itself, I availed myself of an invitation to join the party, instead of proceeding by land to Galena, as had been my original intention.

The boat had been towed up the Wisconsin with a cargo of flour for the garrison; and a portion of the officers having been ordered down to Prairie du Chien, they had obtained this large boat to transport themselves, families, furniture, and horses, all at once, down to their destination. The boat was about one hundred and twenty feet long, covered in to the height of six feet above the gunnel, and very much in appearance like the Noah's Ark given to children, excepting that the roof was flat. It was an unwieldy craft, and to manage it, it required at least twenty-

five men with poles and long sweeps; but the army gentlemen had decided that, as we were to go down with the stream, six men with short oars would be sufficient — a very great mistake. In every other respect she was badly found, as we term it at sea, having but one old piece of rope to hang on with, and one axe. Our freight consisted of furniture stowed forward and aft, with a horse and cow. In a cabin in the centre we had a lady and five children, one maid and two officers. Our crew was composed of six soldiers, a servant and a French *halfbred* to pilot us down the river. All Winnebago came out to see us start; and as soon as the rope was cast off, away we went down with the strong current, at the rate of five miles an hour. The river passed through forests of oak, the large limbs of which hung from fifteen to twenty feet over the banks on each side; sometimes whole trees lay prostrate in the stream, held by their roots still partially remaining in the ground, while their trunks and branches offering resistance to the swift current, created a succession of small masses of froth, which floated away on the dark green water.

We had not proceeded far, before we found that it was impossible to manage such a large and cumbrous vessel with our few hands; we were almost at the mercy of the current, which appeared to increase in rapidity every minute; however, by exertion and good management, we contrived to keep in the middle of the stream, until the wind sprung up and drove us on to the southern bank of the river, and then all was cracking and tearing away of the woodwork, breaking of limbs from the projecting trees, snapping, cracking, screaming, hallooing and confusion. As fast as we cleared ourselves of one tree, the current bore us down upon another; as soon as we were clear above water, we were foul and entangled below. It was a very pretty general average; but what was worse than all, a snag had intercepted and unshipped our rudder, and we were floating away from it, as it still remained fixed upon the sunken tree. We had no boat with us, not even a *dug-out* — (a canoe made out of the trunk of a tree,) — so one of

the men climbed on shore by the limbs of an oak, and went back to disengage it. He did so, but not being able to resist the force of the stream, down he and the rudder came together — his only chance of salvation being that of our catching him as he came past us. This we fortunately succeeded in effecting; and then hanging on by our old piece of rope to the banks of the river after an hour's delay, we contrived to reship our rudder, and proceeded on our voyage, which was a continuation of the same eventful history. Every half hour we found ourselves wedged in between the spreading limbs of the oaks, and were obliged to have recourse to the axe to clear ourselves; and on every occasion we lost a further portion of the frame work of our boat, either from the roof, the sides, or by the tearing away of the stancheons themselves.

A little before sunset, we were again swept on to the bank with such force as to draw the pintles of our rudder. This finished us for the day; before it could be replaced, it was time to make fast for the night; so there we lay, holding by our rotten piece of rope, which cracked and strained to such a degree, as inclined us to speculate upon where we might find ourselves in the morning. However, we could not help ourselves, so we landed, made a large fire, and cooked our victuals; not, however, venturing to wander away far, on account of the rattlesnakes, which here abounded. Perhaps there is no portion of America in which the rattlesnakes are so large and so numerous as in Wisconsin. There are two varieties; the black rattlesnake, that frequents marshy spots, and renders it rather dangerous to shoot snipes and ducks; and the yellow, which takes up its abode in the rocks and dry places. Dr. F——[1] told me he had killed inside of the fort Winnebago, one of the latter species, between seven and eight feet long. The rattlesnake, although its poison is so fatal, is in fact not a very dangerous animal, and people are seldom bitten by it. This arises from two causes: first, that it invariably gives you notice of its presence by its rattle; and secondly, that

[1] Dr. Lyman Foot, see *ante*, p. 77.

it always coils itself up like a watch-spring before it strikes, and then darts forward only about its own length. Where they are common, the people generally carry with them a vial of ammonia, which, if instantly applied to the bite, will at least prevent death. The copper-head is a snake of a much more dangerous nature, from its giving no warning, and its poison being equally active.

The river has been very appropriately named by the Indians the "Stream of the Thousand Isles," as it is studded with them; indeed, every quarter of a mile you find one or two in its channel. The scenery is fine, as the river runs through high ridges, covered with oak to their summits; sometimes these ridges are backed by higher cliffs and mountains, which half way up are of a verdant green, and above that present horizontal strata of calcareous rock of rich gray tints, having, at a distance, very much the appearance of the dilapidated castles on the Rhine.

The scenery, though not so grand as the high lands of the Hudson, is more diversified and beautiful. The river was very full, and the current occasionally so rapid as to leave the foam as it swept by any projecting point. We had, now that the river widened, sand banks to contend with, which required all the exertions of our insufficient crew.

On the second morning, I was very much annoyed at our having left without providing ourselves with a boat, for at the gray of dawn, we discovered that some deer had taken the river close to us, and were in mid-stream. Had we had a boat, we might have procured a good supply of venison. We cast off again and resumed our voyage; and without any serious accident we arrived at the shot-tower, where we remained for the night. Finding a shot-tower in such a lone wilderness as this gives you some idea of the enterprise of the Americans; but the Galena, or lead district, commences here, on the south bank of the Wisconsin. The smelting is carried on about twelve miles inland, and the lead is brought here, made into shot,[1] and

[1] See Libby's "Chronicle of the Helena Shot Tower," *Wis. Hist Colls.*, xiii.—Ed.

then sent down the river to the Mississippi, by which, and its tributary streams, it is supplied to all America, west of the Alleghanies. The people were all at work when we arrived. The general distress had even affected the demand for shot, which was now considerably reduced.

On the third day we had the good fortune to have no wind, and consequently made rapid progress, without much further damage. We passed a small settlement called the English prairie—for the prairies were now occasionally mixed up with the mountain scenery. Here there was a smelting-house and a steam saw-mill.

The *diggings*, as they term the places where the lead is found (for they do not mine, but dig down from the surface), were about sixteen miles distant. We continued our course for about twenty miles lower down, when we wound up our day's work by getting into a more serious *fix* among the trees, and eventually losing our only *axe*, which fell overboard into deep water. All Noah's Ark was in dismay, for we did not know what might happen, or what the next day might bring forth. Fortunately, it was not requisite to cut wood for firing. During the whole of this trip I was much amused with our pilot, who, fully aware of the dangers of the river, was also equally conscious that there were not sufficient means on board to avoid them; when, therefore, we were set upon a sand-bank, or pressed by the wind on the sunken trees, he always whistled; that was all he could do, and in proportion as the danger became more imminent, so did he whistle the louder, until the affair was decided by a bump or a crash, and then he was silent.

On the ensuing day we had nothing but misfortunes. We were continually twisted and twirled about, sometimes with our bows, sometimes with our stern foremost, and as often with our broadside to the stream. We were whirled against one bank, and, as soon as we were clear of that we were thrown upon the other. Having no axe to cut away, we were obliged to use our hands. Again our rudder was unshipped, and with great difficulty replaced. By this time we had lost nearly the half of the upper works of the boat, one

portion after another having been torn off by the limbs of the trees as the impetuous current drove us along. To add to our difficulties, a strong wind rose against the current, and the boat became quite unmanageable. About noon, when we had gained only seven miles, the wind abated, and two Menonnomie Indians, in a *dug-out*, came alongside of us; and as it was doubtful whether we should arrive at the mouth of the river on that night, or be left upon a sand bank, I got into the canoe with them, to go down to the landing-place, and from thence to cross over to Prairie du Chien, to inform the officers of the garrison of our condition, and obtain assistance. The canoe would exactly hold three, and no more; but we paddled swiftly down the stream, and we soon lost sight of the Noah's Ark. Independently of the canoe being so small, she had lost a large portion of her stem, so that at the least ripple of the water she took it in, and threatened us with a swim; and she was so very narrow, that the least motion would have destroyed her equilibrium and upset her. One Indian sat in the bow, the other in the stern, whilst I was doubled up in the middle. We had given the Indians some bread and pork, and after paddling about half an hour, they stopped to eat. Now, the Indian at the bow had the pork, while the one on the stern had the bread; any attempt to move, so as to hand the eatables to each other, must have upset us; so this was their plan of communication:—The one in the bow cut off a slice of pork, and putting it into the lid of a saucepan which he had with him, and floating it alongside of the canoe, gave it a sufficient momentum to make it swim to the stern, when the other took possession of it. He in the stern then cut off a piece of bread, and sent it back in return by the same conveyance. I had a flask of whiskey, but they would not trust that by the same perilous little conveyance; so I had to lean forward very steadily, and hand it to the foremost, and, when he returned it to me, to lean backwards to give it the other, with whom it remained till we landed, for I could not regain it. After about an hour's more paddling, we arrived safely at the landing-place. I

FORT CRAWFORD, WISCONSIN TERRITORY.

Built at Prairie du Chien, 1826. From photograph of a contemporary painting. Wisconsin River in the foreground.

had some trouble to get a horse, and was obliged to go out to the fields where the men were ploughing. In doing so, I passed two or three very large snakes. At last I was mounted somehow, but without stirrups, and set off for Prairie du Chien. After riding about four miles, I had passed the mountains, and I suddenly came upon the beautiful prairie (on which were feeding several herd of cattle and horses), with the fort in the distance, and the wide waters of the upper Mississippi flowing beyond it. I crossed the prairie, found my way into the fort, stated the situation of our party, and requested assistance. This was immediately despatched, but on their arrival at the landing-place, they found that the keel-boat had arrived at the ferry without further difficulty. Before sunset the carriages returned with the whole party, who were comfortably accommodated in the barracks — a sufficient number of men being left with the boat to bring it round to the Mississippi, a distance of about twelve miles.

Prairie du Chien is a beautiful meadow, about eight miles long by two broad, situated at the confluence of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi; it is backed with high bluffs, such as I have before described, verdant two-thirds of the way up, and crowned with rocky summits. The bluffs, as I must call them, for I know not what other name to give them, rise very abruptly, often in a sugar-loaf form, from the flat lands, and have a very striking appearance: as you look up to them, their peculiar formation and vivid green sides, contrasting with their blue and gray summits, give them the appearance of a succession of ramparts investing the prairie. The fort at the prairie, which is named Fort Crawford, is, like most other American outposts, a mere enclosure, intended to repel the attacks of Indians; but it is large and commodious, and the quarters of the officers are excellent; it is, moreover, built of stone, which is not the case with Fort Winnebago or Fort Howard at Green Bay. The Upper Mississippi is here a beautiful clear blue stream, intersected with verdant islands, and very different in appearance from the Lower Mississippi, after it has been joined

by the Missouri. The opposite shore is composed of high cliffs, covered with timber, which, not only in form, but in tint and colour, remind you very much of Glover's landscapes of the mountainous parts of Scotland and Wales.

I made one or two excursions to examine the ancient mounds which are scattered all over this district, and which have excited much speculation as to their origin; some supposing them to have been fortifications, others the burial places of the Indians. That they have latterly been used by the Indians as burial places, there is no doubt; but I suspect they were not originally raised for that purpose. A Mr. Taylor has written an article in one of the periodicals,[1] stating his opinion that they were the burial places of chiefs; and to prove it, he asserts that some of them are thrown up in imitation of the figure of the animal which was the heraldic distinction of the chief whose remains they contain, such as the beaver, elk, &c. He has given drawings of some of them. That the Indians have their heraldic distinctions, their *totems*, as they call them, I know to be a fact; as I have seen the fur traders' books, containing the receipts of the chiefs, with their crests drawn by themselves, and very correctly too; but it required more imagination than I possess, to make out the form of any animal in the mounds. I should rather suppose the mounds to be the remains of tenements, sometimes fortified, sometimes not, which were formerly built of mud or earth, as is still the custom in the northern portion of the Sioux country. Desertion and time have crumbled them into these mounds, which are generally to be found in a commanding situation or in a string as if constructed for mutual defence. On Rock River there is a long line of wall, now below the surface which extends for a considerable distance, and is supposed to be the remains of a city built by a former race, probably the Mexican, who long since

[1] Stephen Taylor's "Description of Ancient Remains, Ancient Mounds, and Embankments, principally in the counties of Grant, Iowa, and Richland, in Wisconsin Territory," in *American Journal of Science and Arts*, vol. xliv, pp. 21–40.

retreated before the northern races of Indians. I cannot recollect the name which has been given to it.[1] I had not time to visit this spot, but an officer showed me some pieces of what they called the brick which composes the wall. Brick it is not — no right angles have been discovered, so far as I could learn; it appears rather as if a wall had been raised of clay, and then exposed to the action of fire, as portions of it are strongly vitrified, and others are merely hard clay. But admitting my surmises to be correct, still there is evident proof that this country was formerly peopled by a nation whose habits were very different, and in all appearance more civilised than those of the races which were found here; and this is all that can be satisfactorily sustained. As, however, it is well substantiated that a race similar to the Mexican formerly existed on these prairie lands, the whole question may perhaps be solved by the following extract from Irving's Conquest of Florida.

"The village of Onachili resembles most of the Indian villages of Florida. The natives always endeavoured to build upon high ground, or at least to erect the house of their cacique or chief upon an eminence. As the country was very level, and high places seldom to be found, they constructed artificial mounds of earth, capable of containing from ten to twenty houses; there resided the chief, his family, and attendants. At the foot of the hill was a square, according to the size of the village, round which were the houses of the leaders and most distinguished inhabitants."

I consider the Wisconsin tertitory as the finest portion of North America, not only from its soil, but its climate. The air is pure, and the winters, although severe, are dry and bracing; very different from, and more healthy than those of the Eastern States. At Prairie du Chien every one dwelt upon the beauty of the winter, indeed they appeared to prefer it to the other seasons. The country is, as I have described it in my route from Green Bay, alternate prairie,

[1] Reference is here made to the prehistoric remains at Aztalan.— Ed.

oak openings, and forest; and the same may be said of the other side of the Mississippi, now distinguished as the district of Ioway. Limestone quarries abound, indeed, the whole of this beautiful and fertile region appears as if nature had so arranged it that man should have all difficulties cleared from before him, and have little to do but to take possession and enjoy. There is no clearing of timber requisite; on the contrary, you have just as much as you can desire, whether for use or ornament. Prairies of fine rich grass, upon which cattle fatten in three or four months, lay spread in every direction. The soil is so fertile that you have but to turn it up to make it yield grain to any extent; and the climate is healthy, at the same time that there is more than sufficient sun in the summer and autumn to bring every crop to perfection. Land carriage is hardly required, from the numerous rivers and streams which pour their waters from every direction into the Upper Mississippi. Add to all this, that the Western lands possess an inexhaustible supply of minerals, only a few feet under the surface of their rich soil — a singular and wonderful provision, as, in general, where minerals are found below, the soil above is usually arid and ungrateful. The mineral country is to the south of the Wisconsin river — at least nothing has at present been discovered north of it; but the northern part is still in the possession of the Winnebago Indians, who are waiting for the fulfilment of the treaty before they surrender it, and at present will permit no white settler to enter it. It is said that the other portions of the Wisconsin territory will come into the market this year; at present, with the exception of the Fox river and Winnebago Lake settlements, and that of Prairie du Chien, at the confluence of the two rivers Wisconsin and Mississippi, there is hardly a log-house in the whole district. The greatest annoyance at present in this western country is the quantity and variety of snakes; it is hardly safe to land upon some parts of the Wisconsin river banks, and they certainly offer a great impediment to the excursions of the geologist and botanist; you are obliged to look

right and left as you walk, and as for putting your hand into a hole, you would be almost certain to receive a very unwished-for and unpleasant shake to welcome you.[1]

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Here, for the first time, I consider that I have seen the Indians in their primitive state; for till now all that I had fallen in with have been debased by intercourse with the whites, and the use of spirituous liquors. The Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien were almost always in a state of intoxication, as were the other tribes at Mackinaw, and on the Lakes. The Winnebagoes are considered the dirtiest race of Indians, and with the worst qualities: they were formerly designated by the French, *Puans*, a term sufficiently explanatory. When I was at Prairie du Chien, a circumstance which had occurred there in the previous winter was narrated to me. In many points of manners and customs, the red men have a strong analogy with the Jewish tribes; among others an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, is most strictly adhered to. If an Indian of one tribe is killed by an Indian of another, the murderer is demanded, and must either be given up, or his life must be taken by his own tribe; if not, a feud between the two nations would be the inevitable result. It appeared that a young Menonnomie, in a drunken fray, had killed a Winnebago, and the culprit was demanded by the head men of the Winnebago tribe. A council was held; and instead of the Menonnomie, the chiefs of the tribe offered them whiskey. The Winnebagoes could not resist the temptation; and it was agreed that ten gallons of whiskey should be

[1] Here, the author discourses upon the "squatting" customs, with especial reference to the Galena region. He goes on to say that he "remained a week at Prairie du Chien, and left my kind entertainers with regret; but an opportunity offering of going up to St. Peters [St. Paul] in a steam-boat, with General Atkinson, who was on a tour of inspection, I could not neglect so favorable a chance." He visited Fort Snelling, and describes the Falls of St. Anthony, and then discusses the Sioux Indians thereabout. At this point, we renew our extract from the *Diary*.—Ed.

produced by the Menonnomies, to be drunk by all parties over the grave of the deceased. The squaws of the Menonnomie tribe had to dig the grave, as is the custom,— a task of no little labour, as the ground was frozen hard several feet below the surface.

REV. SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI.

From a copy (at Saint Clara Academy, Sinsinawa, Wis.) of an oil painting made in Rome, while Mazzuchelli was a student in the Dominican College.

FATHER SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI.[1]

BY JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, LL. D.

In 1844, the journal of a Dominican missionary "among various tribes of savages and among catholics and protes-

[1] For material for the following sketch of the life of Rev. Samuele Carlo Mazzuchelli, the editor is indebted to the Sister Secretary of Saint Clara Academy, Sinsinawa, Wis. He was born in Milan, November 4, 1807, of an old and wealthy family, whose name can be traced back to the earliest annals of the city. His middle name is that of the patron saint of Milan, St. Charles Borromeo, whose feast day is November fourth. Carefully educated at home, by tutors, and early developing talent, his family designed him for a political career, and were disappointed at his decision to enter the Dominican order of priesthood. Finally gaining their consent, he, at the age of 17, entered the Dominican monastery at Faenza, and later made his profession at the house of his order in Rome. When Mazzuchelli was 21 years of age (1828) he chanced to hear an address to the students in this house, by Rev. Edward Fenwick (also a Dominican), bishop of Cincinnati. This was in the nature of an appeal for workers in the American field, and Mazzuchelli resolved to devote his life to the Indians in Bishop Fenwick's diocese (then embracing Ohio, and what are now Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa). He was too young for ordination, but nevertheless set out at once,—leaving Milan, as Dr. Butler says, in June, 1828. At Cincinnati, the bishop employed him as catechist, while he was completing his former studies and learning English, and finally ordained him in the Cincinnati cathedral, September 5, 1830. Towards the close of the month, the young priest was dispatched to the Island of Mackinac, then the center of the great fur trade of the Northwest, and a community much in need of spiritualizing influences. The country west of Lake Michigan was included in his field of work, and Dr. Butler has told us of his wanderings therein. Mazzuchelli was especially interested in education; he always erected a school house in connection with each of the twenty-five or more churches erected by him—as our informant writes: "Mass could be said in the school house until the church was raised, but the children were always first with him." He was an architect of no mean capacity; the

tants in the United States," was published in Milan.[1] Being printed in Italian and never translated into English,[2] this work of 364 pages has never been much known in America. It deserves, however, careful study. During the decade between the years 1830 and 1840, no intelligent man traversed the Wisconsin region more frequently and more thoroughly than this Italian priest, and no one has better described the phases of nature and life there.

The author was Father Samuel Mazzuchelli. He always writes of himself in the third person, — calling himself

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plans for his churches and schools were his own; and "very many of the courthouses in Wisconsin and Iowa were built according to plans furnished by him." By appointment from Rome, he was commissary general of his order in this region; he was also the first vicar general of the diocese of Dubuque, under Bishop Loras.

In 1843, the Father returned to Italy to raise funds for buying Sinsinawa Mound, then the property of Gen. George W. Jones, on which he desired to erect an institution of learning. It was while upon this mission that he wrote the book which Dr. Butler has synopsized; it was a popular work, intended only for Italian readers of the middle and lower classes, who desired information regarding the far-away land from which he had come. About 1844 he built a college on Sinsinawa Mound (a part of the present academy), and was its first president; but later, anxious to resume his missionary labors, transferred the management of the institution to the faculty of the Dominican Fathers in Kentucky.

In 1847, Mazzucheli founded the sisters of St. Dominic in this province, and established them temporarily at Sinsinawa Mound, intending to build for them a female academy a few miles distant; but circumstances compelled him to transfer the sisters to Benton, which was one of his numerous parishes, and there he was their first teacher in the modern languages and science. Here at Benton, "at his poor little parsonage of two rooms," he died of pleuro-pneumonia, February 23, 1864 — "his disease being the result of long-continued exposure, all one stormy night, on several distant sick

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[1] *Memorie Istoriche ed Edificanti d'un Missionario Apostolico dell'ordine De i Predicatori fra varie Tribu di Selvaggi e fra i Cattolici e Protestanti negli Stati-Uniti d'America.* [By Samuel Mazzuchelli.] Milano, 1844, pp. 364, O. A copy may be seen in the library of this Society.— Ed.

[2] An English translation, by one of the sisters of the house, is now (1898) being given in monthly installments in *The Young Eagle*, a periodical published by the students of Saint Clara Academy.— Ed.

"the Missionary,"— and gives no clue to his name save by mentioning one occasion when he was called on to serve as chaplain of the legislature of Wisconsin, thus enabling us to find it in the journal of that body.

The only church he found already built was at Mackinac. This he enlarged, and was the real founder of others in more than a score of growing towns. Nor was he neglectful of schools. Nor did he halt anywhere without administering the ordinances of his church.

To detail his experiences, during what he calls his apostolate,— the hardships, perils, and vicissitudes of pioneer life,— however interesting, would be beyond the scope of the present writing, which must be confined to a meagre outline of his travels.

The Dominican Mazzuchelli, born in Milan in 1807, left that city for America in June, 1828. A forty days' passage in an American sailing ship brought him to New York, and without much delay he went West, by the way of Baltimore, to Cincinnati. In that quarter he remained for two years, learning English, and preparing for whatever service the bishop should select him.

In 1830 he was stationed at the outpost of Mackinac — there being then only five priests in Michigan, and not one of those in its northern half. His journey was by way of Lake Erie and Detroit, and he reached his post in Oc-

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calls." His death was universally mourned in Southwestern Wisconsin, for this talented pioneer missionary appeared to be equally loved and admired by Protestants and Catholics,—"he was too broad for any sectarian narrowness of either side, to find room near him."

Saint Clara Academy, which he founded at Sinsinawa Mound, but had transferred to Benton, returned to the Mound in 1864, the sisters purchasing the old buildings of Sinsinawa Mound College. The head of the institution is Mother Emily Power, one of those whose early education was received from the founder; his spirit lives in her works.

Mazzuchelli was ever forgetful of self. It is characteristic of him that he left no portrait of himself, in manhood. The only original existing is that painted in Rome, by order of his family, when he was a youth at the college of his order. It was copied for Saint Clara Academy some years ago, and we present herewith a photographic facsimile of that copy.—Ed.

tober. He soon pushed on 200 miles further to Green Bay, where he found no church; but as there was a small one at Mackinac, he considered that island the best base for his mission, and accordingly reached that point again on November 16. The population there was about 500, largely half-breeds, their language French, and few of them able to read.

May 1, 1831, he embarked on a trader's boat for Green Bay, which was his headquarters for the next half year,— with tours among the tribes around that water. He saw there in October, a church of wood (80 x 38 ft.) finished up to the roof as a result of his labors, which were re-inforced by Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, who had come north for a summer outing. In this season the missionary also started a school among the Menomonee Indians.[1]

In August of this year (1831), Mazzuchelli voyaged in a bark canoe from Mackinac ninety miles to the Sault Ste. Marie,— which he calls Santa Maria,— and preached there both under an oak and in the United States fort. In mid-winter he crossed on the ice to Point St. Ignace, and made a snow-shoe tramp to l'Arbre Croche.

In the spring of 1832, he returned by the earliest boat of the season to Green Bay, for consolidating his work there. In July he was again at Mackinac Island for consultation with his bishop, who had fled thither from southern heat. About the middle of September, Mazzuchelli left Green Bay for Prairie du Chien, where he arrived on the 22nd. This journey was on horseback, and in company with "the judge of the territory,"— no doubt James Duane Doty, who was that judge from 1823 to 1832. During this pilgrimage, the travelers may have visited the site of Madison, which appears on Mazzuchelli's map as *Quatro Laghi*. One of Doty's favorite camping places was on the east shore of Third Lake.

At Prairie du Chien, the priest said mass in an abandoned log house, but found the people too lukewarm to author-

[1] See documents relating to these enterprises, *post*.— Ed.

ize any attempt at building a church. He therefore, after a sojourn of fifteen days, set his face again towards Mackinac — which, by his route, was a distance of 400 miles. He did not reach that goal until November, after a stormful passage from Green Bay. Soon, finding ten Indians in a bark canoe bound for new l'Arbre Croche, he took passage with them and arrived on the evening of the second day. On landing, he saw men throwing one barrel into the lake and breaking another into pieces, and learned that a trader had brought them full of whiskey — and that they were destroyed by order of the local Ottawa chief. The Father suffered greatly with cold, hunger, and exposure before regaining his winter quarters.

April 16, 1833, the missionary left Mackinac for his first visit to the Winnebago village, some eight miles from the fort of that name — now the city of Portage, Wisconsin. From Green Bay his journey had been on horseback. He was unable to make himself understood, until he fell in with Pietro Paquette. This interpreter was very helpful in preaching and confessions. Two hundred converts were made, and an Ottawa catechism, by Father Baraga, was translated into Winnebago. In order to get this primer printed, Mazzuchelli journeyed 700 miles to Detroit. It appeared there in 1833, as a pamphlet of eighteen small octavo pages, entitled *Ocangra Aramee Wawakakara.* Embarking on his return from Detroit, on the 1st of November, winds were so contrary that he did not land in Green Bay until the 22nd. Two nuns came thither with him, for opening an Indian school.

The influence of the missionary's visit to the Winnebagoes, astonished Mrs. John H. Kinzie, wife of the Indian agent at the fort, when she offered liquor to one of their women. In noticing this incident in her *Wau-Bun,* she relates that the glass was declined, with a finger pointed at the crucifix that hung round the squaw's neck. "It gave me a lesson," she says, "of more power than twenty sermons. Never before had I seen a glass refused from a religious motive."

Closing the year with imposing ceremonies at the Green Bay church, Mazzuchelli then itinerated among fishermen upon the ice, even up to Lake Winnebago, and spent the early spring of 1834 among the maple-sugar makers there. He labored much among Menomonees, and claimed, though without success, the annuity of $2,000 appropriated by the United States for their instruction.

In February, 1835, the missionary made a second visit to Prairie du Chien. His route thither from Fort Winnebago, was with a trader in a sleigh, and on the frozen Wisconsin River. They scared two wolves from an antelope just killed, and so enjoyed the game themselves. Success at the prairie being small, the missionary shook its dust from his feet, and at the end of March betook himself on horseback to Mineral Point. His coming was a sensation throughout the mining region. But he soon repaired by steamer to St. Louis, and thence to Cincinnati, and 150 miles inland to a Dominican fraternity established at Somerset. This journey was for confession and consultation.

Returning, he landed in Dubuque on July 4, 1835, and there, on the fifteenth of the next month, laid the corner-stone of a church (70 x 41 ft.) of which he was himself the architect, in a town not two years old. September 12, he performed a similar function in Galena. These works he superintended, obtained a church site in Prairie du Chien, and in April, 1836, repaired to St. Louis for his semi-annual confession. The previous autumn, as he was coming up from St. Louis, the steamer was stopped by ice, and he had three days of hard travel to arrive in Galena.

October 25, 1836, when the first Territorial legislature of Wisconsin began its first session in Belmont, on motion of Patrick Quigly it was voted that "the chair invite the Rev. Mr. Mazzuchelli to open the meeting with prayer to-morrow." This Quigly was the first man in Dubuque who had entertained the priest and provided him a room for his holy offices. The missionary describes himself in his book, as "elected by the diplomatic assembly to make a discourse to the chambers before their governor read to them his

A Missionary among Wisconsin Savages.
Reduced facsimile of frontispiece to Father Mazzuchelli's book.

message," seeming to mean by "discourse" something different from "the daily prayer with which" he says that he opened the sessions for a week (p. 188).

The deep snow of the following winter did not prevent his laying 210 miles behind him, for visiting Green Bay, and obtaining certain ritualistic ornaments which were needed in his new churches. In April, 1837, he laid the first stone of a church in Davenport, for which he predicted a "boom," although its inhabitants then numbered only a hundred. His next year was spent among lead miners, aside from penitential visits to St. Louis. Aside from one month in 1838, and another in 1839, illness never stopped his progress. In 1840, he built a church in Iowa City, and another in Burlington. For sessions in the latter, the senate of Iowa paid so good a rent as to extinguish its debt.

For the next three years, our missionary never itinerated far from the banks of the Mississippi. In 1842, he had finished a church on the Wisconsin mound of Sinsinawa, 300 feet above the plains, and there he founded Saint Clara Academy, in charge of Dominican Sisters. In February of that year, he visited Jo. Smith, in Nauvoo, Ill., and in 1843 he returned to Italy. His departure from Galena was on the 16th of April. He accompanied the bishop of St. Louis to Baltimore, and attended the sessions of the council there. Embarking at New York in the "Great Western," on May 25, within fourteen days he stepped ashore in Liverpool, and three weeks afterwards entered his native Milan.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GREEN BAY, AND THE MISSION AT LITTLE CHUTE, 1825-40.

The following documents, selected from the archives of this Society, tell the interesting story of the early struggles of the Catholic parish of Green Bay, chiefly towards the erection and equipment of a local church building, and sustaining the mission at Little Chute. They are supplementary to and illustrative of Dr. Butler's sketch of Father Mazzuchelli, which should be read in connection therewith. To each paper is appended its press-mark, for the purpose of identification; *e. g.*, [G. L. P., XVIII: 63] = Grignon, Lawe, and Porlier Papers, Vol. XVIII, No. 63.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR FATHER BADIN.[1]

[Translated from the French.]

To the subscribers! Dear Citizens, we implore your assistance, and Leave it to your Generosity to furnish the

[1] The first Catholic chapel erected in the Green Bay district, was of course that at Depere, built by the Jesuit missionaries, and burned in 1687. Between that date and 1823, the Catholics of the region were only occasionally visited by missionary itinerants. In 1823, Green Bay was visited by Father Gabriel Richard, of Detroit, vicar-general of the Northwest diocese. He made arrangements for the building of a church; and one was commenced that year on the site of the pumping station of the city water works — the old Langlade property. Cf. Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay* (Green Bay, 1893), pp. 232, 233; various allusions in *Wis. Hist. Colls.* (vii,

funds for Mr. Badin, your pastor, who is now about to depart for Detroit. GREEN BAY, June 27, 1825.

Paid

L. B. Berthelet.....	$3.00	
Pierre Carbano Jr paid	25	
C R Brush paid	1.00	
Wm Dickinson one dollar	1.00	Paid
Robert Irwin one dollar omitting the words your pastor[1] ^ paid	$1.00	
Mary Ann Brevoort paid	1.00	
Joseph Houle paid	50	
Louis Grignon Paid	$2.00	
Samuel Irwin one dollar paid		
Louis Rouse pa[id]	$2.00	
Louis Bauprès paid	$1,00	paid
August. Grignon	2.00	paid
George Johnston	$1.00	
John Lawe	$1.00	paid
John P. Arndt	$1.00	paid
Louis Corbeille	1.50	

Prisque Hyott
Augustin Grignon
Joseph Jourdain

Subscription, to be presented & collected by a respectable citizen of this place, to the honorable officers private soldiers & other persons whatever at Green Bay towards imploring their charitable assistance for both the building of the Catholic church & the clergyman theroff, all for the

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pp. 178, 230, 231; and viii, p. 291), and French's *History of Brown Co.* (Green Bay, 1876), p. 70. In 1825, Father Badin arrived, and almost completed the building.— ED.

[1] Irwin, not being a member of the Father's church, seeks in his case to qualify the language of the subscription paper.— E[D]

Glory of him who created all things visible & invisible & recompenses even a glass of water given in his name.

Subscriber's names	Church	Clergyman
Wm. Whistler paid	5	"
John Green paid	5	
H. H. Loring paid	2	
J. Draw paid	2	
R. Hansford		2.50
Martin Green	0	50
Thomas Mc Lun	0	50
James Loyd	0	50
Michl. Morer		50
Joseph Downey		50
Miss Puriet		50
Thomas Oniel	2	00
Timothy Herrington	1	00
	$17.00	$5.50

Subscriber's Names	Church	Clergyman
R. Pendergrass	17-00	5.50
Tice	50	0 0
Brown	50	0 0
Naffew	50	0 0
King	25	0 0
D Perry		25
Valencourt	1-00	
H. Fitzsimons		50
François Armurier	50	0 0
2 names forgotten	$1-25	0 0
Total	$22.00	6.25
Totals	$28.25	
6 July 1825		
Rec'd [from] adjutant Dean	16-00	
Rec'd from 3 Soldiers	01.75	
	17.75	

[Reverse of foregoing paper.]

Subscriber's Names	Church	Clergyman	Subscriber's Names	Church	Clergyman
Total receipts	$17.75				
Paid to Galipi	5.00				
Owing from subscribers	6.25				
total	11.25				
I have paid to the church	6.50		In the hands of Mr Jourdain		
paid By Mr Badin	$1.00		11 July, 1825		
	$7.50		Fois Vnt Badin, priest.		
24 25					
7 50					
31 75					

[G. L. P., XVIII: 63.]

FRANÇOIS ROY[1] TO LOUIS GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

PORTAGE OUISCONSIN 8 July 1830

MY DEAR FRIEND,— After my compliments and affectionate regards, these lines are to Ask of you whether the Children are doing well in the Minister's School. I was inclined To Send there Two or three Of my daughters, on account of the request you made of me through George; I am going to try to bring it about. I am going to do my

[1] François Roy was one of the earliest residents at the Fox-Wisconsin portage. James H. Lockwood says (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 109) that he "kept teams, and hauled goods, furs, and boats across the Portage of one and one-fourth miles from the Fox to the Wisconsin river, for which he charged forty cents per 100 pounds, and ten dollars for each boat." Later (*Ibid.*, p. 170), Lockwood alleges that Roy could not even write his own name; but the above letter was evidently written by him, and the chirography is quite equal to that of his fellows in the Wisconsin fur trade.— ED.

best, For money is very Scarce In this Place. I hope To go to the Bay in a short time. My Compliments to all of your Family. There is no news whatever that Merits your Attention; everything Is very dull In this Place. The others all assure you of their Respect

I am your
Esteemed Friend
Fr. Roy

Addressed: "Monsieur Louis Grignon Eqr. Bay Varte."
[G. L. P., XXV: 58.]

FATHER MAZZUCHELLI TO JACQUES PORLIER.

[Translated from the French.]

Mr. Porlier.[1]

Monsieur Fenwick, Bishop of Cincinnati, having made me pastor of the parish of Mackinac, Green bay, and the surrounding country, I had proposed to myself to come to you before winter; but the circumstances in which I find myself do not permit me to do so. Desiring nevertheless to make known my arrival to the Catholics of Green bay, you will have the kindness to tell them that I am at Mackinac, and that I will come to see them in spring, at the first opportunity, to remain there several weeks. The vicar, M. Rese has urged me to do my utmost to have a Church at Green bay, and to write you in regard to this, in case I should not be able to go there. I beg you therefore, for the love of your religion, to put yourself at the head of so good a work, and to endeavor to procure the subscription which mr Fauvel[2] has taken, or to begin a new one, as you deem best.

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[1] Jacques Porlier, the chief justice of Brown county court, and a leading fur-trader.— Ed.

[2] In 1826, Father Badin was succeeded by Father Fauvel,— "Friar Fauvel," as he is called by some of the local chroniclers. Through carelessness,— he roomed in the building,— Fauvel set fire to the church, and destroyed it. A school-house was then built for him by the people. Andrew

Madame la Framboise, with whom I reside, has had me read the letter that Mr. d'Hausman [Dousman] has written her. It has given me great pleasure to learn that they have begun a society like that at Mackinac. I pray the Lord to sustain and propagate it by his all-powerful grace, and I hope to have the consolation of enjoying the acquaintance of its members.

Tell Mr. d'Hausman not to be afraid of what Mr Fauvel says or does and to persuade the catholics not to have any communication with him in that which regards religion,— but, on the contrary, not to employ him at burials; and, when he dares to preach, to go out and leave him alone I will write to the Bishop what Mr d'Hausman says in his letter about Mr Fauvel.

I have the honor to remain

Your servant

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI.

22 Oct. 1830.

MACKINAC

Addressed: "Mr Porlier à la Bay Verte."

[G. L. P., XXVI: 17.]

[Translated from the French.]

17 Nov. 1830, MICHILIMACKINAC

Mr. Porlier —

I think that I ought to write to Monseigr the Bishop, before the inhabitants of Green bay commence the new Church, in order to know from him on what site he desires

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J. Vieau says (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 226) that it was "within four or five rods east of where the Green Bay water-works pumping-station now is" [1887]. Fauvel was priest when Morgan L. Martin arrived, in 1827 — see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 385, 389. He soon fell from favor, however, with superior officers of the church, and then followed two years of bitter quarrel, summarized in French's *Hist. Brown Co.*, p. 70. Fathers Badin and Mazzuchelli would not recognize Fauvel as a priest,—hence this reference in Mazzuchelli's letter. At first the people favored Fauvel, who held the school-house as his own; finally, he lost popular support, the school was closed by his former friends, and soon after Mazzuchelli's arrival he was obliged to leave.— ED.

to have it. The owner of the plat of the village of *Navarino*[1] has sent me word that he is disposed to give 160 by 120 feet of land, for the erection of the Catholic Church. I know that it is the wish of the Bishop to have the Church in the village, rather than elsewhere. I advise you therefore not to commence the Church, nor to sell the old house, before receiving the reply of the Bishop. I will write to him to-day, and will shortly receive his answer. Do whatever is in your power to increase the subscription, and to have the timber prepared for a Church 60 feet long and 35 feet wide. I will not fail to take you the money for the Church, when I have the pleasure of seeing you again. Pray for me,

Your servant,

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI, Priest.

I beg that you will be so kind as to give to Mr. Francois Bodoin, the paper here enclosed, and to send me the other, which by mistake I sent him in place of this.

Addressed: "A Mr Jacques Porlier, Green Bay."

[G. L. P., XXVI: 30.]

MAZZUCHELLI'S INSTRUCTIONS TO TRUSTEES.

[Translated from the French.]

Those who are commissioned to procure what is necessary for the Church at Green Bay are requested to accomplish the following things:

1. To collect all the pew-rents that have not yet been paid.

2. To give 50 dollars to Mr Law

3. To pay 44 dollars to Mr Smith, if it shall be possible, with the money remaining in the hands of Mr Louis Grignon, the money of the ladies' society, and of that of St. John.

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[1] Daniel Whitney, who in 1830 platted the town of Navarino, the nucleus of the modern Green Bay. See *Historic Green Bay*, p. 237.— ED.

4. To make collections every day this summer; when there are 20 dollars, give them to Mr Charles Tibeau who has already had 34 dollars for his work.

5. To make 4 pews on the left of the Church, and pay for them with the rent of the same which should be at 4 dollars for the front two, and 3.50 for the two behind.

6. If it is possible, to have the Sacristy finished

7. To hurry along the doors of the pews, until they have them completed

8. To put a painted canvas [*toile peniturée*] over the arch of the bell tower

9. To thoroughly paint and putty all the outside of the tower, with two good coats (to the spire.)

10. To place 4 conductors or water troughs at the four corners of the Church.

11. To paint the four sides of the Church

12. To treat yourselves to a stove, to warm the Church

13. To place two prie-dieux, one on each side of the Church

14. During Lent, to make a small collection to pay the rent on the house for the priests, — that is to say, of 68 dollars.

15. To exact the payment of all which has been promised to the Church in money, in wood, or in day's work.

16. At Christmas, or before, to take a collection for the Church.

[G. L. P., XXVIII: 68.]

POPULAR SUBSCRIPTIONS.

We the Subscribers do hereby agree to pay to Bishop Edward Fenwick, or his legal representative or agent, the sums attached to our respective names, when called for, to be applied toward building a Catholic Church at this place. Said Church to be erected upon Lot numbered seventeen, owned & occupied by Joseph Ducharm, on the

East side of Fox River, within the Township of Green Bay.

GREEN BAY June 14, 1831——

Names	Amount	Names	Amt.
R. &. A. J. Irwin paid	$10.00	J. T. Collinsworth Lt	$3.00
E. W. Solomon	Ten D	lls paid	
Geo. Johnson	five		
Saml. Irwin paid	five		
S. W. Rees paid	$Two		
Jno. H. Kinzie	Two d	olls.	
John Mc.Carty paid in Meterials	Five	Dolls	
Wm. Dickinson	Ten D	olls in Lumber	
Antoine Carbanno in boards	Two d	olls.	
Peter Gerard in boards	two d	ollars	
S. C. Stambaugh	ten d	ollars. paid Rev. Mazzuchelli	
Jos. Laframboise	$6		
Henry S. Bairds paid	10		
Edward Fenwick Bishop paid	150		
R. Samuel Mazzuchelli paid	60		
John Lawe paid	20		
General S. Fenwick paid	10		
Capt. Michael Masterson	2		

[G. L. P., XXVII: 51.]

We the undersigned do agree to pay to the Rev. Mr. Mazzuchelli or to his order the several sums set opposite our respective names for the purpose of erecting a Roman Catholic Church at the settlement of Green Bay —

	GREEN BAY 20th. June 1831—
Bp. Edw. Fenwick	150 pd.
R. Samuel Mazzuchelli	$20 pd.
John Lawe	20 pd.
J. N. Fenwick	10 pd.
Robert M. Eberts Paid 26 Oct. 1831	5 paid
R. & A. J. Irwin	10 paid
E. W. Solomon	10.
George Johnson	5
Samuel Irvin	2
Seth Reed	2 paid
John H. Kengue [Kenzie]	Paid in Meterials 5
John M'carty	Five dollars in lumber paid
William Dickinson	Ten dollars in Boards
Antoine Carboneau	Two dollars in Boards
Peter Gerard	10
S. C. Stambaugh	10
Henry S. Bairds	10 $5 paper
M Joseph Laframboise	6
Capt. Michael Masterson	2

[G. L. P., XXVII: 56.]

[Translated from the French. Without date]

Subscription of the inhabitants and Citizens of Green Bay for the Erection of a Church and parsonage Suitable to lodge a priest, at the requisition of Monsr Rezell, Grand Vicar of Cincinnaty, who promises to supply the place with a priest when the work shall be duly completed.

Such Subscription shall be legally binding for such Sum promised, By personal Signature or otherwise (the same being proven), either in Cash or in material; and, to obviate all difficulties there shall be Chosen one or more Suitable persons to receive the money, and to deliver it when received to certain persons who will transmit it to the persons Chosen to superintend the erection of the stone foun-

dation and also of the building material. Jq. Porlier to be treasurer, Joseph Paquet and Joseph Gourdin appointed as presidents

	Money		Square timber.	Scantlings.	Day's work.
Samuel Mazzuchelli	$14	paid	" "	" "	" "
Jacques Porlier	15	paid	100 feet	" "	10 days
Brisk Hyotte	5	"	" "	" "	" "
Joseph Paquet	6		" "	" "	8 "
Dominique Brunette	3		50 "	" "	" "
Ge Grignon	4	100 feet logs	" "	" "	" "
Alre Déjardin	2		40 "	" "	4 "
Simon Ecuyer	"	"	" "	" "	6 "
Moses Hardweeck	2	paid	200 "	" "	" "
Bazille Larock	3		" "	8 scantlings	" "
batiste Grignon	2		" "	" "	4 "
Joseph Courvelle	2		" "	" "	4 "
Louis Gravet	3		" "	6 "	" "
Joseph lepailleur	"		" "	" "	2 "
Michel McKabé	"	"	" "	" "	4 "
Amable Hart	"	"	" "	" "	2 "
peter B. Grignon	2		" "	" "	" "
Jhn Lawe	20		" "	4 "	20 "
L. Grignon		500 feet logs	200 "	" "	" "
L. Rousse	10		200 "	" "	6 "
F. Baudouin	"	" "	" "	15 "	2 "
L. Baupré	"	" "	100 "	" "	10 "
Pt. Grignon	6	paid	300 "	10 "	2 "
J. Jq. Porlier	4	paid	"	"	"
M. L. Martin	5				

[G. L. P., XXVIII: 70.

[Translated from the French.]

Subscription to procure 4,500 feet of lath for the Catholic Church of Green Bay

We the undersigned promise to give to the Catholic Church of Green Bay by the 15th of next July, 1832, the quantity of lath or the sum of money which is marked after our names. SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI priest

Moïse Hardwick	200 feet
J. J. Porlier $4.00 paid	
Thomas Franks $2.00	
Antoine Thybeau $2.00	
Al. Labord	500 feet
Dominique Brunette	500 feet
Luck Laborde $2.00	
Mouscaumon Lapond pr Laurent Fortier	2.00 paid, L. G.

[G. L. P., XXVIII: 67.]

[Translated from the French.]

Subscription to procure 5000 feet of lath necessary to complete the interior of the Catholic Church.

We the undersigned promise to give to the Catholic Church of Green Bay, by the first or 15th of the month of July next, the quantity of lath which is marked against our names: SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI priest

GREEN BAY Nov. 16, 1831	
Moïse Hardwick	200 feet
J. J. Porlier $4.00 paid	
Thomas L. Franks $2.00 cash paid	
Antoine Tibeau $2.00 cash his × mark	
A. Labord 500 feet of lath paid	
R. Domenique Brunette 500 feet of lath	paid

[G. L. P., XXVIII: 46.]

[Translated from the French.]

List of persons who Subscribe money for the Catholic Church of Green Bay

Samuel Mazzuchelli	60	00	To be paid
Thomas Franks	3	00	Paid, L Grignon
D. S. Brown	2	00	
Joseph Couverette	2	00	" John Lawe
Paul & Amable Grignon	6	00	" J. Porlier
Charles Grignon sgr. rec'd 3. 2½ $	6	00	" to Louis Grignon
Joseph Paquette	6	00	paid, M. Mazzuchelli
Simion Charrette	3	00	Paid, L. Grignon
Louis Gravelle	5	00	" ....L. Grignon
Germain Gerdepie	3	00	" .....
Bazille Laroque	3	00	" .....
Ignace Couvillion	2	00	" .....
Alexis Gerdepie	3	00	" .....
Joseph Vioux	2	00	"
Prisques Hyotte	5	00	Paid L Grignon
Joseph Jourdain	15	00	"
Alx Labord rec'd 2 ¼ $	5	00	"
Joseph Bourk	4	00	" paid, M. Mazzuchelli
Luc Labord	5	00	Paid L. Grignon
J J Porlier	6	00	4$ of this paid to J Porlier
			$200 to L. Grignon
George Grignon	4	00	L Grignon
Paul Ducharme Sgr	7	00	"
J Bt Latouche	1	00	"
Denis Lariviere	2	00	"
Charles A Grignon	5	00	Paid, L Grignon
William Powell	3	00	Paid, L Grignon
R. R. Edouard Fenwick	150	00	Paid, M.

W. T. Webster	1	00	"
Solomon Juneaux	2	00	Paid, L Grignon
Charles Hyotte	2	00	Paid to M Mazzuchelli
Antoine Thybeault	2	00	"
Augustin Champloux	1	00	Paid, L. Grignon
Robert Grignon	5	00	Paid, L. Grignon
Pierre Paquette	4	00	To be paid to M Mazzuchell
Antoine Robinot rec'd $2,00	4	00	" 2 Paid, L Grignon
Jean Bt. Lamirante	3	00	"
Alexis Clairmon	3	50	"
Jacques Porlier Sgr.	15	00	Paid
Alexander Degardain	2	00	"
Jean Bt. Grignon	2	00	"
John Lawe	20	00	" to be paid
P. B. Grignon	2	00	"
Nicholas Wolrick	3	00	Paid, J Porlier
James S Knaggs	5	00	Paid, L. Grignon
Lewis Vioux	3	00	Paid, L Grignon
St Pierre or M. Harton	1	50	"
Antoine Macabie	2	00	Paid, L Grignon
M. L Martin	5	00	"
Tanisselas Chapu	2	00	"
Goruette, Mr. J. L.'s man	2	00	"
Maurice Mantat	5	00	"
Laplante, Mr. J. L.'s man	2	00	"
Jean Bt. Desotelle	2	00	"
Pierre La Pointe	3	00	"
Francois Roy	4	00	Paid, L. Grignon
Joseph Joraudain	5	00	Paid.
Jean Bt. Vincent			
Jean Bt Langevin	5	00	Paid, L Grignon

Thomas Varboncoeur	2	00	Paid, L Grignon
Joseph Mc Dowell	2	00	Paid, L Grignon
Charles Grignon Jr	2	00	Paid, L Grignon
Louis Fromm	"	50	To be paid, L Grignon
Louis Ogée	2	00	Paid, L Grignon
J Bt Brunet Jr for 500 feet of wood	7	50	Paid, L Grignon

List of those who have made no payment

D. S. Brown	$2.00	Antoine Robinot	1.00
Germain Gerdepie	3.00	J Bt Lamirante	3.00
Bazille Laroque	3.00	Alexie Clairmon	3.50
Ignace Couvillion	2.00	Alx Degardain	2.00
Alexis Gerdepie	3.00	J Bt Grignon	2.00
Joseph Vioux	2.00	P. B Grignon	2.00
Joseph Jourdain	15.00	St Pierre or M. Harton	1.50
Alexandre Labord	5.00	M. L. Martin	5.00
Joseph Bourk	4.00	Tanissla Chapu	2.00
Paul Ducharme Sr	7.00	Goïette	2.00
J Bt Latouche	1.00	Maurice Mantat	5.00
Denis Lariviere	2.00	Jean Bt Desotelle	2.00
W T Webster	1.00	La plante	2.00
Pierre Paquette	4.00	J. B. Vincent	

[G. L. P., XXVIII: 69.]

FOR AN INDIAN SCHOOL.

Subscription for a R. C. Indn. free school

Considering the advantages of a R. C. Indn free school at Green Bay in favour of that portion of our fellow Beings in the settlement.

And Considering Mrs Dousman[1] well qualified to direct

[1] Mrs. Rosalie Dousman, wife of John; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 482. —Ed.

such a school & to instruct our Indn youth in the necessary branches of civilized & domestic life we the subscribers, in order to enable & encourage said Mrs Dousman to devote her time & labours to the above said laudable purpose do hereby bind ourselves, [and] our heirs, to pay said Mrs Dousman, during one year from this date, every 3 months quarterly the Sums, in cash or produce annexed to our respective names. Witness our Signatures.

in presence of the Bearer

GREEN BAY June 19th 1831....

Edward Fenwick	$10 in advance	Paid
Henry S. Baird	$8.00	
C. A. Grignon	$2.00	Paid

[G. L. P., XXVII: 55.]

MAZZUCHELLI COMMENDED.

[English postscript to a French letter by Ursula Grignon, to her father, Louis Grignon, dated Mackinac, July 2, 1831.]

Mr Mazzuchelli request me to tell you, and you should telle the inhabitants there, to be spry at there obligation for the church he should be very soon to the Bay, and he wishes a good health to all of you and kindest Remembrance to all the Family. I hope My Dear Father that you will always like him he certainly deserve the esteem of all and Respect Good Night

My Dearest beloved Father.

Addressed: "To Louis Grignon, Esqr., Green Bay, Territory Michigan."

[G. L. P., XXVII: 66.]

MAZZUCHELLI TO LOUIS GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

12 Aug. 1831

SIR,—I am impatient to receive news of the Church at the Bay. Let me know whether the lumber for the Church has been delivered, and whether the money of the subscription has been paid. Write me whether Mr. Heart is

satisfied, whether he has begun to do anything, or whether he demands some money. I had intended to depart tomorrow for Saut St. Mary, but the arrival of Mr. Mallon changed my plan, because he has come to Mackinac in order to have a conference with Mr Ferry.[1] My presence at the controversy is deemed necessary. I cannot tell you for the same reason when I shall leave here for the Bay. It will not be possible for me to leave Mackinac except during the first week in September, because I ought to visit the Saut. Monseignr has given me 50 dollars for the Church, and I will give 20 in addition, so there are 70 dollars in my hands. In my absence, I give you more power to act in the interest of the Church. If Mr Heart has not commenced his work in this month of August, I think that the church will not be obliged to make the first payment, 200 dollars, on the 10th of September. Act always for the best, and consult Mr Lawe.

Your friend,

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI

Addressed:— "Mr Louis Grignon, Esqr, Green Bay."

[G. L. P., XXVIII: 6.]

MAZZUCHELLI TO GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

10 July 1832

I. DE MACKINAC

Mr. Grignon

I write you a few lines to let you know that I can buy 60 barrels of lime for 30 dollars. If Mr. Tomson has not delivered the lime at the church, or if he can use it elsewhere, tell him for me not to take any trouble on account of the lime; I will buy it here, because it is better, and we shall save 20 dollars. Send me an answer at once, in order that I may make the contract here. Do your utmost not to ex-

[1] Rev. William Montague Ferry, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Mackinac, organized by him in 1822. See references to Ferry, in Davidson's *Unnamed Wisconsin*.— ED.

pend the money, and to increase it, so that you can pay the debts this year. If Mr Hart has need of lumber, buy it from Mr Smith.

Tell Mr Coles to have the kindness to place the lumber for the railings on board the first boat. Wishing for you all blessings,

I am

Your ob. servant

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI

Addressed: "Mr Louis Grignon, Esqr, Green Bay, M. T."

[G. L. P., XXIX: 70.]

[Translated from the French.]

21 [or 31] July 1832

Mr. Grignon

The Revd M. Jeanjean is coming to Greenbay to visit the place, and to accomplish several commissions for Monsieur Fenwick who finds himself ill at Mackinac. I beg of you to give the best possible welcome to M. Jeanjean. He will communicate to you news that will interest you.

Be very zealous for the Church, and you will have a priest probably by the last of September. For myself, I shall come to see you at the time when I have promised you. My regards to all the family, and to friends.

Your Servant

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI

Addressed: "Mr Louis Grignon, Esq., Green Bay."

[G. L. P., XXV: 66.]

[Translated from the French.]

MACKINAC 30 July 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have written to Mr Hart that I will give him 12 dollars to cut the window-panes with his diamond and to set them. If he will not do it, you may tell Mr Dousman[1] to buy enough cotton to cover the seven

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[1] Probably John Dousman.—ED.

windows, unless you have already made an arrangement with Mr. Hart that is favorable. Do not pay for the window-glass, but buy the putty and give 40 dollars to Mr. Hart, on account of *extra work* and expenditures which he has made for the church. I enclose the account in the letter. If I can find the iron here at Mackinac I will send it to you. Do not go to any trouble on my account; matters will improve, and I shall not abandon the plan of spending a part of the year with you, especially when the large steamboat is in operation.

My compliments to all of your family

Your esteemed friend,

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI Priest.

N. B I have found, at the Company's, a bar of iron fifteen inches [1 *pouce*] square. There are none larger. We must content ourselves with this if Mr Silvester says that it is strong enough. Mr. Jordain will have the kindness to pay the transportation; I will send him the money on my return.

There are too many things charged on our account, but our own negligence leaves us without satisfaction.

Addressed: "Mr Louis Grignon, Esqr., Green Bay."

Indorsed: "Green Bay, 9th August, 1832. Par la Grange. Cpt Cherwood."

[G. L. P., XXIX: 92.]

BILL FOR MATERIALS.

Roman Catholic Church

1832 To John P Arndt Dr

Sept 4th	To 1100 feet Boards a $12.00 per M.		$13.20
" "	" 4 pieces Paling 120 ft		1.42
" 13	" 1282 feet Boards a $12. per M		15.36
" "	" 82 pieces Paling 360 feet		4.32
" 24	" 502 feet Board a $12.00 M		6.33
" "	" 1341 feet Do a $12.00 M		16.06
Oct. 30	" 30 feet Boards 3/		.38
1833 April	" 165 feet Boards		1.68
			$58.75
	Contra Credits.		
May 10th	By Cash	$25.00	$33.75
		Balance due	

Received payment.

GREEN BAY July 17th 1833

[Unbound MSS.]

BADIN TO GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

Mr. Louis Grignon Esqr.

SIR,— Your venerated Father and friend is no more, he has given up his very Saintly soul to God his creator. This we shall have the honor and the happiness to do soon,— yes, dear Mr. Grignon, soon; the silvery locks which we carry are the surest warrant for this. Let us endeavor by a holy life, full of good works, to deserve as saintly a death as that of our Reverend venerated, & respected friend, M. G. Richard,— who, at the moment of receiving the august sacrament of our altar, cried with the venerable and aged St. Simeon, "Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, Secundum verbum tuum in pace,"— that is to say,

"Now, Lord, permit thou thy servant to die in peace according to thy word." Let us pray the Lord for the repose of his soul, as we are taught by our Holy faith. We will also honor his body forever, by erecting to him a marble obelisk, which will be supported on its base,— its pedestal [apex], a ball surmounted by a cross. On the four faces of the obelisk shall be graven his epitaph, in Greek, in Latin, in French, and in English. In addition, his portrait shall be painted in life-size, and exposed to the view of the faithful at the clergy-house. Consequently we wish that all Catholics, and others desiring to have the honor to contribute to its erection,— that is, young and old, men and women, boys and girls,— subscribe throughout all Michigan. I beg of you, dear Mr Grignon that you will kindly consent to take the responsibility of collecting, or having collected, this voluntary contribution, and placing it in my possession at Detroit as soon as possible. You can write on a sheet of paper this which follows: "Voluntary contribution for the erection of an obelisk to the late Revd Mr Gabriel Richard, grand vicar, curé of Ste Anne at Detroit, who died 13 Sept., 1832; & also for his portrait in life-size."[1]

I rely upon your zeal for our venerated friend, Rest assured of the gratitude of him who is your spiritual Father in Jesus-Christ our Lord.

Your obedient Servant

F. V. Badin
Missionary Priest.

At the Clergy-House of Detroit
22 Sept. 1832

Addressed: "Mr Louis Grignon, Esq., Green Bay, Politely by Mr Ebert."
Indorsed: "Received 9th October, 1832, pr Mr. R. M. Ebert."

[G. L, P., XXX: 31.]

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[1] A subscription paper in the Society's archives (G. L. P., XXX: 28), shows that only $2.50 was raised in Green Bay for this purpose.— Ed.

MAZZUCHELLI TO GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

8 May 1833

Mr Grignon GRAND CACCALIN[1]

On my arrival here I found the young Décari[2] who came from Portage with a horse, in search of me; he gave me a letter which your Father Pierre[3] wrote me from that place. Seeing that the savages await me with impatience, I shall not stop here as I intended. Your daughter Elizabeth, Rachel Law, and Paulite are going as far as the grand Bute [des Morts]. I see that God has arranged all these matters in order to give your daughter an opportunity to render a great service to her Church, by remaining two or three weeks with the savages whom I must visit. After serious consideration, I have decided to accompany your daughter as far as Portage; the chief reason is that there is no one there who is in a position to instruct the savages. Your permission is considered necessary; but how can we have it at once? There remains for me nothing but to interpret the pious disposition of your heart. Your piety and your zeal for religion leave me no doubt whatever that you would give her your permission to do the will of God in so holy a cause; and that you will make this little sacrifice for J. C. because he makes so great ones every day for us. It is I who ask permission from you for her, and I ask it of you in the name of Jesus Christ. By travelling very easily we can reach Portage by Saturday. We have two savages to guide and assist us. Elizabeth will not suffer in the least. God will give her better health than if she had remained at home. I will purchase for her whatever she will need. I will say with St. Paul, "*If God be with us, who shall be against us?*"

Your servant

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI Priest.

Addressed: "Mr Louis Grignon, Esq., Green Bay."

Indorsed: "Recd by Mlle. Rachel Lawe, 8th May, 1833. L. Grignon."

[G. L. P., XXXI: 34.]

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[1] Grand Kakalin, the modern Kaukauna.— ED.

[2] One of the Decorah family, of the Winnebago tribe.— ED.

[3] Pierre Grignon, Sr.— ED.

INDIAN SCHOOL REGULATIONS.

Regulations for the Roman Catholic Indian free school of Green Bay

The Board of Trustees for this school shall consist of Messieurs J. Lawe L. Grignon & L. Rouse.

Mr L. Grignon shall fill the offices of Treasurer & Secretary. Mrs. Rosalia Dowsman Superior & Cheif Teacher & Miss Elizabeth Grignon Assistant Teacher.

The Trustees will prepare the school, provide it with Benches & other necessaries; & give notice to Mrs. Dowsman when ready. She will then appoint the day for opening the school.

The Trustees will make known to the Public the day of the opening of the school and they will recommend the subjects for tuition.

Mrs. Dowsman will act in concert with the Trustees & consult them on the admission of children & other persons to the school.

All poor Indians to be admitted gratuitously for all instructions; others on moderate terms, agreed on by Trustees & Mrs. Dowsman.

The object of this school is to inculcate industry morality & christian piety — and to teach the art of spelling reading & writing &c.

The amount of donations & receipts from the subscription, now in circulation, after deducting expences contracted for the school, shall be divided into three parts or sums, two of which shall be paid by the Treasurer to Mrs. Dowsman & the other or third part to Miss E. Grignon.

These regulations to be valid & of full effect untill the Bishop, his Successor or Vicar General, shall visit this settlement again.

GIVEN AT GREEN BAY
THIS 24 OF JUNE 1831

By order of Edw. Fenwick
Bp of Cincinnati and
Administrator of the
Territories of Michigan & NorthWest

These regulations are to be continued

14 JULY, 1833

FRED: RESE Vic: General

[G. L. P., XXVII: 58.]

MAZZUCHELLI TO AUGUSTIN GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

27 Sept. 1833
DETROIT

Mr Augustin Grignon

On the 15th of September we arrived at Mackinac, where the wind was against us for two days. On the 21st, at noon, we landed at detroit. Your daughter has been all the time in good health, with the exception of a little *sea sickness*. Monseigneur Résé, before going to Cincinnati, has agreed to accompany Sophie as far as Somerset: having left here on the 24th, she has already reached her destination. She has always shown a very great satisfaction and eagerness to be with her cousin. The expenses of her journey will not exceed 20 dollars. I shall receive news of her from Somerset before my departure from Detroit for Green Bay, which will not be before the 15th of October. My respects to all the family.

Your humble servant
SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI

Addressed: "Mr Augustin Grignon, Green Bay, M. T. *via Chicago.*"
[G. L. P., XXXII: 22.]

BILLS FOR MATERIALS.

Catholic Church Green Bay
To R. & A. J. Irwin.

1831			
October	8	To hauling 23 Sticks of lumber from the river to the church	2.00
1832			
Septr	8	5 lb. Nails @ 1s. 100 lb. do 11.00	11.62½
	13	1 Tin kettle	1.25
	15	2 prs butts @ 2s. 2 doz Screws @ 1s.	.75
	17	1m. brads 4s. 2 screws 4c	.54
		Recording a deed by A. J. Irwin	.88
Octo.	9	2 lb. Nails.....@ 1s.	.25
	11	2 do 1s.	.25
	18	3 paint brushes ea. 2s. 3s. 4s.	1.12½
	19	15 yds red ribbon @ 1s–	1.87½
	27	2 lb. 20 lb. nails " 1s.	2.50
	30	1 paint brush "	.56
			$23.60½

Dr Sir,

Above you have our account against the church amtg. to $23.60½ which we hope on examination may be found correct.

Yours very respy.
R. & A. J. Irwin
Novr. 5, 1832.

Revd. Mr. Mazzuchelli

Indorsed: "Recd. Green Bay May 6. 1833 Twenty three Dollars & Sixty Cents in full of the within account. R. & A. J. Irwin."

[G. L. P., XXX: 45.]

[Undated memorandum.]

Amount of Boards furnished by Augustin Grignon for the Catholic Church

Augustin Grignon	2000 feet
Lewis Grignon	500 "
P & A Grignon	500
Charles Grignon	200
Brisk Hyott	1000
John Bt Jomvine	500
Louis Kerby	500
Lawrish our man	500
John Bt Canaden	500

[G. L. P., XXVIII: 66.]

The Catholic Church of Green Bay

1831 & 32 To Augustin Grignon Dr.

To 5453 Feet Boards	$15.00	81.79 1/2
" 592 " Scantling	$15.00	8.88
" 4000 M Shingles	$2.50	10.00
		$100.67 1/2

Recd Green Bay 24th Jany 1834 of John Lawe Eighty Dollars and Seventy Five Cents on the above account.

Agt Grignon

[Unbound MSS.]

TO COLLECT PEW RENTS.

[Translated from the French.]

I, the priest undersigned, give full power to Mr Louis Grignon to receive for me the rent for pews, for the year 1834, which has not yet been paid

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI Priest

26 May 1834
GREEN BAY
[G. L. P., XXXIII: 54.]

MAZZUCHELLI TO LOUIS GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

28 June 1834 G. B.

Sir,—I ask of you the favor that you will go to Mr. Ellis[1] or his wife, to procure the remainder of the Almanacs, for which I made inquiries some months ago. They have neglected to obtain them from the office of the enquirer. I think there will be no difficulty in getting them; it will be sufficient to ask for them.

Your Servant

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI C. P.

Indorsed: "Note of Rev. S. Mazzuchelli to Louis Grignon, for Mr. Ellis."
[G. L. P., XXXIII: 80.]

[Translated from the French.]

22 July 1834
FORT WINNEBAGO

Mr Grignon

I enclose to you a letter for Monseigneur Résé I shall leave this place on Monday next, and on Wednesday I hope to be at the Bay. Capt. Mc Cabe is very ill. They admit that he will not recover. Excuse my pen; I cannot find a better one

Your servant

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI

Addressed: "To Mr Louis Grignon, Esqr., Green Bay, M. T."
[G. L. P., XXXIII: 98.]

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[1] Andrew G. Ellis was at this time proprietor of the Green Bay *Intelligencer*, and Father Mazzuchelli has reference to the printing office connected therewith.—ED.

AN ADDRESS TO THE BISHOP.

[Translated from the French. Without date, unfinished, and unsigned; evidently a draft.]

It would be presuming a great deal, to flatter Ourselves that Our application could possesse any Merit! But the desire to have a Missionary among us justifies Our proceeding. Religion, with the aid of the Ministers whom We have had the advantage of having up to the present time, has not yet opened the eyes of the inhabitants of this place to heir duties toward the Divine Being. The alternative of having a Missionary with us only for a time has Doubtless a retrograde effect, and it is of this that we take advantage to Urge that your zeal for the Salvation of Souls, may kindly replace the reverends . . . . . by New guardians of religion. As we are under obligations to Mr Mazukelly, if we have a place sufficiently Convenient for offering to God the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, entirely confident of the result of his zeal, we solicit from your benevolence that this same gentleman should be Again accorded to Us; and if there are any difficulties on account of the Missions which He proposes to undertake, it will be easy to make amends for them by giving him an assistant, with whom he can coöperate without inconvenience for the Missions which may be established.

We shall consider ourselves greatly favored by your acquiescence in the request that we submit to your eminence, of whom we are, with submission, the

Indorsed: "addressed to the bishop."
[G. L. P., XXXII: 63.]

FATHER HATSCHER TO JACQUES PORLIER.

[Translated from the French.]

MY VERY DEAR AND GREATLY RESPECTED MR. POIRLIER,— At the last interview with Mgr the Bishop, you had reason to conclude that his Logic in Regard to us had changed, and that he thinks of restoring matters at the Bay to their

old footing. The Congregation of St. Leopold, which up to the present time has furnished a great deal of Money to Mgr, has offered to furnish him still more if he favors our Institute in his Diocese. They have caused him to see that, in receiving this body into our Diocese, he will never lack either priests or Helpers,—since the Correspondence which we maintain with the Institute of St. Leopold, and with the People of Austria, keeps up liberality in favor of his Diocese, and will furnish Resources for the support of all the Churches, of both the whites and the Savages. It is in this manner that the Missions support themselves everywhere else. The Vineyard of the Lord is entrusted to an organization in Belgium, who bind themselves to supply quarters suitable to each Catholic Parish. This diminishes expenses to the Bishop and to the Parishes, and assures the people that they need never remain without a Pastor because the Pastor is obliged to remain through obedience to his Congregation, which is not the usage among Secular Pastors. God, therefore, who mortifies and vivifies, mortifies you for your faults by causing you to leave the Bay; he vivifies you by his Mercy in enabling you to return thither as soon as the new Superior shall arrive from Europe. He will not delay coming and arranging with Mgr the Bishop for power in regard to all the necessities of the various Catholic Parishes. That will lessen for him the expenses assumed and risked for a seminary, insure good order in the Parishes, and render the Diocese flourishing. This will bring about, with the spiritual good which will result therefrom, the prosperity of the People, honor to our Holy Religion, and the glory of God, which as you know is the sole Reason why we desire to be among you, as everywhere else.

I am delighted by the favorable prospect for the welfare of the Savages, for the Diocese, and for those who have been annoyed by our removal. It is this also which causes me to go to the Saut, Since a door will be opened there for the Gospel all around the lake. The various Indian chiefs of that region saw me at the Saut in the spring, and

agreed with cordiality to embrace our Holy Faith. Let us rejoice, then, in the Lord, since he has favored our desires,— which, having for their aim only his glory and your spiritual welfare, inspire in us new reasons for Confidence that he will not refuse his Paradise to those to whom he furnishes the means of Salvation, with a providence so assured and so lasting.

You can whisper that in the ears of all those who rejoice in the Lord, and of all whose Ardor will be thereby revived toward Religion,— that they may address their vows to the Giver of all good gifts, and be ready to profit by the favors which God offers — both to us, to be useful to You, and to them, to assure their spiritual well-being.

Salute and embrace all the friends of the good cause. Commend us to the prayers of all, and assure all that it is purely spiritual interests that induce you to desire our return there, where we have placed our first affections, employed our first Efforts (however feeble), and seen a new Superior for our Congregation,— henceforth — to direct all our attention to the perfecting of that which we have only observed as a minor duty.

I am, with sentiments of [devoted] friendship, your very affectionate and humble servant

in J. Ch.,

FRANCOIS HATSCHER,

C. S. L. Pr. [Priest of the Congregation of St. Leopold.]

ON LAKE HURON, 6 August, 1834

Salutation to my old Charret and his daughters, to Maccabees, to Messrs Ducharmes, Pridket, Lemieux, Paquet Law, Bodouin, and to all the Messrs. Grignons and Poirliers.

Addressed: "To Mr. Poirlier, Agent of the American Fur Co., care of Mr. Abbot, Mackinak or Bay Vert, Green bay."

[G. L. P., XXXIV: 6.]

A REJECTED BILL.

The Menomonee Nation of Indians,

To Samuel Mazzuchelli, Superintendant of the Catholic Mission at Green Bay.....Dr.

To services rendered in educating & instructing individuals of said nation at the Catholic Church at Green Bay — for seats & pews in said Church used & occupied by said individuals during the Years 1831, 2, 3, & 4, and for services & expences of a minister in visiting their villages at the Butte des Morts, Grand Cacalin, & on each side of Green Bay, upon their request, at $250 per annum.....	$1,000.00
To 250 feet of hewed timber for Building a Chapel at the Grand Cacalin @ 5 cts. per foot.....	12.50
To 1000 feet scantling.....	12.00
" an altar.....	15.00
1 Hand Saw — 16 lbs nails. 1 Handsaw pli. 1 Hammer, 1 Gimblet, 2 Axes & 4-20-light windows, with the Glass delivered to Augustin J. Aw-ma-ta, chief at the Cacalin.....	26.00
To an Indian almanac, rendered by signs equally useful to those among the Natives who are unable to read their language, published at Green Bay 150 Copies.....	18.00
	$1,083.00

[On reverse of bill, in same handwriting.]

We the undersigned Chiefs and head men of the Menomonee Nation of Indians, do hereby acknowledge that the within and foregoing account is correct & just, and that the said sums ought to be paid: and we do hereby agree that the amount thereof shall be paid out of the fund appropriated & set apart in our Treaties with the United States, for the purposes of aiding in the education of the people of our Nation, or out of our annuities.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands at Green Bay the day of November A. D. 1834

In presence of

Indorsed as follows:

Revd. Mr. Mazzuchelli's a/c against the Menomonee Nation of Indians $1080.00.

Presented by Mr. Jos. Dickinson as the attorney of the Revd. Mr. Mazzuchelli.

The whole Chiefs of the Menomonee Nation of Indians assembled in Coun-

cil, say that they know nothing about the within paper, and refuse to pay this account.

G: Boyd.
U. S. Ind. At.

signed Geo M: Brooke
B. B. Genl.

Signed R. E. Clary
Mily Dis: Agent.

A true copy
G: Boyd
Ind. Agt.

[Boyd, IV: 98.]

FATHER VAN DEN BROEK TO LOUIS GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

Mr. Louis Grignon

I hope that you will have the kindness to settle your business with Mr. Mazzechelli, because he is going away tomorrow, and I do not at all like that the confusion which you tell me exists therein should continue any longer, as it interferes with the well-being and order of the Congregation. I think, in this way — that you as well as I will prefer good order, and that you will certainly settle this business before tomorrow, as well as you can, because he says that he remembers more than the first half of it
I am

Your Servant and Friend
T. J. Van Den Broek

7 Sept. 1834
Addressed: "Mr Louis Grignon."

[G. L. P., XXXIV: 23.]

[Translated from the French.]

Mr. L. Grignon!

You will oblige me greatly if you can do me the pleasure of sending me to-morrow, in good season, a man with a cart to haul the timber for the cemetery.

At the same time, I hope that you will kindly consent

that your daughter, Miss Elizabeth, shall instruct the Children of the Savages.

By your favor [*en faveur*]

I am your
Servant and Friend

5 Oct. 1834 T. J. VAN DEN BROEK
Addressed: "Mr Louis Grignon." Curé
[G. L. P., XXXIV: 43.]

SUBSCRIPTION FOR AN ORGAN.

[Translated from the French.]

Subscription Green Bay 1834

We the Undersigned promise and Bind ourselves each one to pay the sums Annexed to our names for and in order to procure an Organ for our Catholic Church at Green Bay, the Payment of which is to be made on Demand or at the option of the person to whom it pertains to receive these sums.

John Lawe Paid	$12.00	Francois Charette *Paid*	50
Robert M. Eberts	10.00	Pierre Charette Paid	50
Peter B. Grignon	2.	Jean Bt Thybeault Paid	50
Jacques Porlier	5.00 Paid	Alexander laborde	2.00 Paid
J. J. Porlier	1.00 Paid	Md Salomon Paid	50
Paul Porlier	1.00 Paid	Maria Brabansel Paid	1.00
Augustin Grignon Jr	1.50	Elisabeth Jacob Paid	1 00
Joseph Jirardin	1.00 Paid	Philip Jansen	2 00
A. J. Vieux	1.25 Paid	Jean B DeSautel Paid	25
Charles Dupreé	50	Boulle Paid	1 00
Joseph Ducharme	1.00	Paul Ducharm Paid	50
Paul Ducharme	.50	François Bodewyn	
Hyassaine Laplante	.50 Paid	J Martin	1 00
Amable Vioux	1.00	Elisabeth Carbono	1 00
Gabriel Brunette	1.00	Mess. Tompson	1 00
L. Grignon	10.00	Michael	1 00
Pierre Juneau	1.00	Mad Dousman	2 00
Charles Mettez	50 Paid	Ant La Fringe	2 00
Joseph Lemieux	0.50 paid	Mad. Porlier Paid	1 00
Francois Beauprée	1.00	Mad Baptist Paid	1 00
Thomas L. Franks	4.00 Paid	Ant Alort Paid	1 00
Jacques Ecuyer	1.00	Louis Gravel	
Francois Dagenet Jr	50	Joseph Vieux	
Sizard Ducas	50	Joseph Paquet Paid	1 00
Prisque Hyotte	50 Paid	Charle Rox	1 00
C. A. Grignon	$1.00	August Bieson	1 00
Paul Grignon Eq. *Paid*	50		

[G. L. P., XXXIV: 80.]

AN ADDRESS TO FATHER HÄTSCHER.

[Translated from the French. No signatures accompany this undated draft.]

Addressed to the Reverend Mr Hedcher Missionary.

Sir. — In accordance with the Sentiments of the Catholics of the Place, and my own Conviction regarding your zeal in the service of this parish, — in spite of the imputations which have been made Against your Character and your duties as Missionary, imputations which seemed calculated to remove you from Us, — I do not hesitate, supported by a general desire, to address a petition to you which implores your assistance until a superior authority obliges you to leave Us. And, to give more weight to my claims, I will permit Myself to present to you the Contradictions, the imputations, and the persecutions against Our Common Master, Our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered every-thing without abandoning his Flock, until the last Moment of his Mission, — at which time he was able to substitute for himself his apostles, prepared for the Service of the Holy Spirit. You will appreciate, better than we, the Merits of our petition and of your apostolic duties.

Without entering into the reasons which might oblige you to leave us, I find there one of the Means employed by the Enemy of our salvation to gain possession of the great Field and there establish his Dominion

However that may be, we will not abandon our conviction of your Merit, and of our own obligations to you; and we beg you to Believe in Our perfect gratitude, and in the esteem of one and All of the Undersigned . . . the Majority of the inhabitants of the Bay.

Indorsed: "Address to the Reverend Mr Hedcher by the inhabitants of the Bay."

[G. L. P., XXXII: 60.]

AN ADDRESS TO THE BISHOP.

[Translated from the French. Undated.]

Monseigneur Frederick Reizey, Bishop of Michigan territory

MON SEIGNEUR,—The inhabitants of Green Bay assembled take occasion to present to you their Submission, in addressing to you their humble petition to obtain of your eminence that the reverend Mr Hedcher may pass the winter among them. Their Confidence and their attachment to this Zealous pastor is the point of support to their solicitation.

Since some persons endeavor to make them share in certain imputations disadvantageous to this respected Missionary, they disclaim them As absolutely contrary to their entire Conviction of his merit

May this application, Mon Seigneur, devoid of every other merit except sincerity, be accepted by your eminence, with the assurance of the profound respect of the undersigned.

Agt Grignon
J. J. Porlier
J. J. Porlier Jnr.
J. Jourdain
C. Grignon Pere
C. Grignon fils
Maxime Garvies
Charles A. Grignon
Francois Bauprés
Jean Baptiste Bauprés
Joseph Bauprés
Francois Jusiaume
Louis Bourdon
Joseph Houlles
Isax Jaques
Js DuCharme Pere
Paul DuCharme fils
Joseph Ducharme fils
Tousaint Ducharme fils
Antoine Carboneaux fils
Amable Carboneaux fils
Jean Baptiste Carboneaux fils
Francois Baudouin
Fanfan Fauvette
Josephe Lemieux Pere
Josephe Berare
Etienne Dinigé
Amable Durocher Pere
Olivier Chaupeaux
P. L. Grignon
J. Bt. Plant
Amable Hartte
Joseph Bouché fils
Whilliams Jourdain fils
Peter Bernard Grignon
Alexander Grignon
William Powell
Jen Bapteis Sein Vein Sant [Jean Baptiste St. Vincent]
Jean Baptiste Ginas
John G. Peltier

Indorsed: "Addressed to the bishop."

[G. L. P., XXXII: 59.]

VAN DEN BROEK TO LOUIS GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

KAKALIN 24 Dec. 1835

Mr. Grignon!

You can do me a great kindness by sending me your daughter Margarith, for a time. I am at present living here at the Mission-house, which the protestants have occupied; and I shall remain here until the house and the Church on the other shore are completed. I have no one to interpret or assist me, so do me this friendly act, and send her to me, if possible,— for, being in the midst of the savages, I can not talk with them at all. I do not doubt that you will grant my request, and I am ready to render you services whenever I can, since I am your friend and Servant.

T. J. VAN DEN BROEK
Miss.

Addressed: "Mr Charle Grignon, at Grand Bute des Morts."
[G. L. P., XXXVI: 72.]

VAN DEN BROEK TO MISS GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

GRAND KAKALIN 27 Dec. 1835

Miss Elizabeth Grignon!

I hope that you are still in good health, as I for my part am,— thanks to God, very well. A few days ago, I wrote you a letter, but I gave it to a Savage to carry to the house of Alex [Grignon] for Mr. Chaild,[1] but the Savage let it fall into the river. It is for that reason that I take up the pen again to write to you anew, in the hope that Mr. Chaild will not yet have left for the Bay.

Perhaps you have already heard that I had a great deal of difficulty in coming here, because I left too late, for the reason that those who had promised me to carry my luggage did not come, because it was very cold that day I

[1] Apparently Ebenezer Childs, of Green Bay.— ED.

was therefore obliged to remain for the night 7 miles from the mission; and the next day we went 4 miles astray, on account of which we reached here 4 hours after noon. Not finding anything in the house, I immediately sent some one to your Aunt, to ask some assistance, which she did not delay to send us; and since that time we have had no lack of food; we have everything in abundance,—bread and butter, fresh meats, potatoes, &c. &c. As soon as the savages at the Butte[1] heard that I had arrived they sent me Marie Anne, daughter of the little Wolf, who is a very capable woman. Until that time, I had been obliged usually to do my own cooking; but after a few days she arrived, and so I am relieved from that burden; and she does my cooking very well. Afterward, having written a letter to your Uncle, Charles Grignon, asking for Margarith, he did not delay sending her to me, and so Margarith Grignon arrived on Sunday, the 20th of December. She is well acquainted with Marianna, the little Wolf; therefore, they help me perfectly. Behold me, then, well settled.

Well, Elizabeth, give my Compliments to your mama, and tell her that I shall expect her soon with you to spend several days. Your Aunt was here two days, and returns again today. I have given lodging for 5 days to about 40 savages; I fed them, and all were entirely satisfied. Every morning and evening, they sang canticles, and prayed for an hour with the Rosary, etc. Just the day before Christmas, I received a package from my Mother, with a good many letters, a little money, 200 chaplets, and some crosses and images, which I shall therefore be able to distribute among the savages.

The minister, Mr. March,[2] the Minister who has lived here, has been here three times, and each time he saw as many savages. He was greatly surprised to see them, and asked me whether I always had so many people. I believe

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[1] Evidently Petite Butte des Morts.— Ed.

[2] Rev. Cutting Marsh, a Congregational missionary to the Stockbridges. See Davidson's *Unnamed Wisconsin*, index.— Ed.

that he was jealous, because he had hoped to convert some of them to his own Religion.

I teach the Savages every day, and I have children who have already, in 8 days, perfectly learned the alphabet. I have instructed both adults and children, and have appointed those who best understand, to teach the others the examples that I have given them. With the aid of Margarith and Marianna, I instruct in our holy Religion those who do not know enough to become good Christians.

I have not now much time to write, as I think that Mr. Chaild is about to leave. I salute you, therefore, with my whole heart; and as the days of this year will very soon be passed, and we shall soon see a new year, I can not refrain from wishing you all future prosperity. I hope that all your sorrows, troubles, and adversities will be ended with the passing year, and that you may have more happiness and tranquillity in the future. I need not commend you to God in the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, that God may give you all tranquillity of mind, prosperity, safety, and, some time, life eternal.

Give my compliments to papa and your aunt. Be so kind as to say to Mr. Irving [Irvin], if you please, that if letters come for me he may forward them to G. Kakalin.

I salute you: pray for me as I do for you, and I am your friend,

T. J. Van Den Broek

Addressed: "Mlle. Elizabeth Grignon, with Mr. Louis Grignon, at Bay Verte."

[G. L. P., XXXVI: 78.]

VAN DEN BROEK TO LOUIS GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

Mr. Louis Grignon

Do me, if you please, the favor to ask Mr. Pierre Paquette the reason why he refuses to pay to a Rev. Priest the money for his children!

At the same time you can do me a service by saying to Mr. J. Doty that Mr. Boid[1] has notified me that I must go to his office to vindicate myself because I have begun to build a house for the savages; otherwise I must pay 1000 dollars — I have written to him thus:

SIR, — I have been today notified that you have summoned me to appear at your office, to justify myself for having commenced to build a mission house for the benefit of the savages. If this be so, you will do me a great kindness, if you will have the goodness to send me a short letter that I may know that it is on your authority; and after I shall have the honor of receiving your letter, I shall be ready to satisfy your wish. I do not at all doubt that you will render me this service, and that you will certainly have the kindness to appoint a day and an hour, as I am constantly occupied with the school for the savage children. I have &c &c. the 4th Jan.

Thus far, the letter to Mr. Boid

If you will have the kindness to ask Mr Doty, for me, whether I have replied satisfactorily, and what I should say, if he demands that I come to his office.

I am with much respect
Your friend
T. J. VAN DEN BROEK.

GRAND KAKALIN 30 Jan. 1836.

Addressed: "Mr. Louis Grignon, Green bay."
[G. L. P., XXXVII: 10.]

[Translated from the French.]

GR. CACALIN 30 Jany 1836

Mr. L. Grignon!

I was very much grieved when I heard of the unfortunate accident which has happened to you. I can imagine how impatient that must make you, who are accustomed to work; but, as you know that God chastises his children

[1] George Boyd, the U. S. Indian Agent.—ED.

whom he loves, I hope that you will accept it for the health of your soul, and that you will profit greatly from the blessings that God confers on us. He punishes us sometimes in one limb, when we had deserved to be punished in our entire body. Have patience, then, and accept this accident, thanking God for his mercies which he has shown you for the welfare of your soul.

The suffering which you have had may perhaps be the reason why you have not been able to respond to the requests which I have made of you — that you would ask Mr. Doty how I shall deal with Mr. Boids, who has summoned me to his office. I hope that you surely will have the goodness to honor me (by Mr. Robert Grignon, who will pass by my house) with your letters, and write to me what Mr. Paquette has given as a reason why he has refused to pay for his children. For my part I have put in my claim to payments; and, since he refuses, I am told to prosecute by law. Because he has not been here, I was about to leave for Portage last week; but the cold hindered me so that I could only come as far as your brother Charles's[1] house. If he does not pay me before the 15 Feb'y, I shall be obliged to send a *constable* to him, and that will cost him a great deal

I beg you to do me the kindness to write me whether my accounts, which I have sent you, will soon be paid — that is, what I have paid for the convent. I have, besides, paid a great deal more; but, as you know, the accounts of Rev. Mr. Mazichelli are in such confusion that I cannot separate the personal debts from the debts paid for the convent. One account, which I have placed among my own, concerns Josef Ducharm; it has not yet been receipted, he should receive it; it is commission money.

I hope that you will respond to my requests; and I desire for you that God may give you strength to endure all

[1] Who lived on the Portage trail at the Kaukauna (Grand Kakalin) rapids.—Ed.

things for your salvation; and, after having made my compliments to the good wife and Miss Elizabeth, I am your friend and servant

T. J. VAN DEN BROEK.

Addressed: "Mr. Louis Grignon, Green Bay."
[G. L. P., XXXVII: 15.]

AN APPEAL TO THE BISHOP.

[Translated from the French. Unsigned; evidently a draft.]

To Rd. Frd Resee
Bishop of Michigan.

GREEN BAY 8th February 1836

VERY REVEREND,— Permit me to take the liberty to address to you these lines in regard to my situation. Judge Doty was to pay for the School only once in Six months, but if it should be possible that your eminence direct him to pay every quarter It Is very probable that he would do so; and, As I am Obliged to Support myself, it would assist me very much.

I am With the most profound
respect and Obedience
Your very Humble Servant

[G. L. P., XXXVII: 16.]

LOUIS GRIGNON TO THE BISHOP.

[Translated from the French.]

Reverend Mr Frederick Ressée
Bishop of Michigan

GREEN BAY February 1836

VERY WORTHY REVEREND,— Permit me to take the liberty of addressing these lines to you in regard to the School for Savages. By a letter from Rd Mr. Bonduel dated the 7th of last July, which I received on my arrival in Wisconsin,— in which he solicited my consent that my daughter E. should go to reopen the School which had been Obliged to close for weighty reasons, that is to say, Too little Compensation— Having Consented to the Demands of Rd Mr. Bonduel, which were repeated by Rev Mr Sandrell on his arrival here,

I desire to Know whether she will receive anything or not. I have Heard say that Judge Doty has some funds for this Purpose, but that he will only pay every six months, but if it pleases Your Eminence to Direct him to pay by the Quarter he will probably do so, and that would accommodate her Much more satisfactorily seeing that it is necessary for her to Support Herself

I am with high Regard and Profound respect to your Reverence

Your Ob. Servant

L. G.

Addressed: "Rd Frederick Résée, Bishop of Michigan."

[G. L. P., XXXVII: 18.]

THE BISHOP TO JOHN LAWE.

DEAR SIR,—I have received a letter of the two misses Law of Somerset in which they requested me to pay to them the $100 I had received of you but had paid said sum a month before to the Bishop of Cincinnati who visited me at Detroit, and who intended to see them at Somerset, and I hope that ere this they have received their money. They invited me also kindly to visit them, and I answered them that it was probable I could see them soon because my avocations would likely soon call me that direction. Rev. Mr. Badin has not been able to find out the man mentioned in your memorandum. Yours most Respectfully

FRED. RÉSÉ Bp of Detroit

DETROIT 15th Oct.
1836

Addressed: "Hon. Judge Law, Green Bay, Ouisconsin."

[G. L. P., XXXVIII: 33.]

VAN DEN BROEK TO L. GRIGNON.

[Translated from the French.]

Mr. Grignon!

Have the goodness to give the bearer of this letter my watch, and to buy two barrels of flour for me. Please keep these at your house until I shall have an opportunity to

send for them; because I fear that, for some time, I can not buy any more. The Rev. Father Hatscher has told me that he will pay you for the lumber and the lime that he has borrowed from you.

You would do me a great pleasure if you would keep your promise of remaining several days at my house With my compliments to the good wife and your children,

I am, with much respect,

Your friend

T. J. VAN DEN BROEK.

LITTLE CHUTE, 1 Dec. 1836

Addressed: "Mr Louis Grignon, at La Baie Verte."

[G. L. P., XXXVII: 51.]

VAN DEN BROEK TO LAWE.

[Translated from the French.]

Mr. Lawe!

I have received your letter by the Savage, and to-morrow I will comply with your wish. Thursday I shall go to the Bay to give you an answer. I have sent to Lt. Louis'[1] house to tell him that he is to come here with the cattle. At this moment, therefore, I can not send further reply by the savage Have the kindness to send the enclosed letter without delay to Paul Ducharme, who lives near the church, since the letter is very urgent in regard to a commission which he is to execute

Your servant

T. J. V. D. BROEK

LITTLE CHUTE

28 May 1838

Addressed: "Mr. J. Lawe, Navarino."

Indorsed: "In answer to mine of the 28th Inst."

[G. L. P., XLI: 51.]

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[1] Referring to Louis Grignon, who had been a lieutenant in the British Indian department, in the War of 1812-15.—ED.

[Translated from the French.]

Mr. Louis Grignon

I profit by the occasion which presents itself to reply to your letter of the 20 Feb., that I have had the pleasure of receiving it. I would send you the essence of peperement, but I have no spirits of wine (or alchohol) If you could send me a bottle, I have enough oil of peperement to make it for you.

You will oblige me greatly if you will have the kindness to see at the post office whether there are any letters for me, and at the same time have them look for the Navarrine newspapers, the *Wisconsin democrat.*[1] I have not had them for 3 weeks. I am about to lengthen the church 20 feet, and to build a steeple about 40 feet high; and on the first boat I expect the bell from Mr Davis of Detroit. I am trying to have my parishioners contribute something for this work, and believe that they will indeed be willing, because they know very well what I have done up to this time, entirely alone. They see that our parish becomes more considerable every year; there are not pews enough to satisfy all those who wish for a place in our church; there are 30 pews rented, and I am having 30 more of them made; and each pew gives 4 dollars a year to the church.

I have given Mad. Polier the list, to show it to you, if perchance you are desirous of being among those who will subscribe to assist in the expenses; for I do not doubt that there will be some of the friends at the Bay who are well inclined toward the Little Chute

After having offered my respects to your family

I am with respect

your friend

T. J. Van Den Broek.

Little Chute 1 March 1839

P. S. You will infinitely oblige me if you will ask Mr.

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[1] The *Wisconsin Democrat* was the successor (Aug., 1836) of the *Green Bay Intelligencer* and the *Wisconsin Free Press*. In 1840, the *Democrat* was removed by the proprietor, C. C. Sholes, to Southport now Kenosha), where it was entitled *Southport Telegraph*, the first paper in Kenosha county.— Ed.

Chailds (county clerk), for a statement of the case which I have in the circuit court for Josef La Fumé. I have been several times at Rapides des peres and I never have found Mr. Chailds at home. I would like, nevertheless, to pay him before the opening of court, which will be the first Monday in May.

[G. L. P., XLIII: 27.]

—— TO THE VICAR GENERAL.

[Translated from the French. Unsigned; evidently a draft.]

Rd. Mr. F. V. Badin
V. G. [Vicar General] Michigan

GREEN BAY Septr. 1838

DEAR AND REVEREND SIR,—I am Ashamed not to have sooner communicated to you the condition of affairs here; the reason Is that I had been continually Sick, and occupied the rest of the time. Our Church is supervised in its duties by the Rd Father Vandreboks who officiates at his Mission and here every 15 days.

I enclose to you

[G. L. P., XLII: 17.]

A RECEIPT FOR PEW RENT.

Received of Miss Rachel Lawe twenty dollars for the rent of two pews occupied by her and her father in the Catholic Church and for the annual tax of the family, and of Mr. Ducharme, until the first day of October 1841.

F. T. BONDUEL

GREEN BAY Nov. 8th 1840

[Unbound MSS.]

A HISTORY OF EARLY RAILROAD LEGISLATION IN WISCONSIN.[1]

BY BALTHASAR HENRY MEYER, PH. D.

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CHAPTER I.

WISCONSIN RAILROAD HISTORY FROM 1836 TO 1851.

1. *The beginning of the railroad agitation.*

The initial step in the movement which nearly fourteen-and-a-half years later resulted in the opening of the first line

[1] This essay contains the first two chapters of a thesis submitted for the degree of doctor of philosophy, in the University of Wisconsin.

of railroads in Wisconsin, was taken at Milwaukee on Saturday, September 17, 1836. During the evening of that day, a number of citizens met at one of the hotels to exchange views and adopt measures in relation to a proposed railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi.[1] The local editor enthusiastically reviewed the meeting, and remarked that the project had been "favorably noticed abroad."[2] New York papers, he said, speak of it as of greatest importance to Wisconsin and to New York. It was one of the favorite methods of our early editors to appeal to Eastern papers in support of their projects; although, in many instances, the quotations or sentiments attributed to New York or Boston papers were communications written by Western men. Appearing originally in Eastern papers over the writer's name, they were, when quoted in Western papers, frequently attributed simply to the Eastern paper, and not to the Western inspirer or author. Sometimes, indeed, alleged "indorsements" were often reported in the West,— such was the case on this occasion,— days before the fastest existing mail could have conveyed the news. Be this as it may, the Milwaukee meeting accomplished its object. It was decided to petition the Territorial legislature, at its next session, to pass an act incorporating a company for the purpose of constructing a railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi, by way of Mineral Point. A committee of fifteen was appointed to correspond with people of other parts of the Territory, to circulate petitions, "and in general to take such measures as they may deem proper and needful to carry into effect the objects of the meeting." This committee was composed of Samuel Brown, who had acted as president of the meeting, Byron Kilbourn, its secretary, N. F. Hyer, H. Crocker, Solomon Juneau, William P. Proudfit, S. D. Hollister, S. W. Dunbar, Horace Chase, William R. Longstreet, A. B. Morton, James H. Rogers, B. H. Edgerton, William N. Gardner, and Thomas Holmes. Such was the beginning of the movement which ultimately

[1] Milwaukee *Advertiser*, September 15, 1836.

[2] *Id.*, September 22. There was then no daily paper in Milwaukee.

resulted in what we now know as the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway system.

The same issue of the Milwaukee *Advertiser* which reported the above meeting, contained in its advertising columns an announcement that an application would be made to the Territorial council, at its next session, for an act to incorporate a company to construct a railroad from Milwaukee to the city of Superior. The editor confesses himself so ignorant of the geography of the Territory, and so far behind the age of speculation, that he does not know the location of this northern city; he pertinently protests against chartering a railroad company for the purpose of bringing some town into public notice. Considering the primitive conditions of Wisconsin Territory, such a project was certainly absurd; probably it was designed simply to arouse interest in the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway. According to the first Territorial census, taken in 1836, Wisconsin's white population probably did not exceed 12,000, nearly all of which was confined to two small areas in the southeastern and the southwestern parts of the Territory,[1] so that one terminus and the whole length of the Milwaukee & Superior R. R. would have lain in an uninhabited country. The journals of the Territorial council and house of representatives for 1836, contain no mention of the Milwaukee & Superior, but record the failure of the Milwaukee & Mississippi scheme. This was due largely to the opposition of the promoters of the Belmont & Dubuque R. R., who secured a charter during this session.[2] At about

[1] Thwaites's "The Territorial Census for 1836," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 247, and map. This census was taken in the four counties of Milwaukee, Iowa, Crawford, and Brown, the two latter each including a triangular tract between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers, and the Menomonee river and Green Bay, respectively (now belonging to Minnesota and to Michigan). These four counties included nearly all of the territory comprised in the present State of Wisconsin, and had a total population of 11,683. The Territory, in 1836, "embraced all of the present Iowa and Minnesota, and the country still farther westward to about the site of Bismarck, N. Dak."

[2] Belmont, Iowa county, was then the capital. Out of a total of seven

the same time the La Fontaine charter, providing for a railroad from La Fontaine, on the Fox River, to Winnebago City, on the northeastern shore of Lake Winnebago,— a distance of about thirteen miles,— was granted. Nothing came of this project.

While the Milwaukee meeting of September, 1836, was the first definite step leading directly towards the organization of the Milwaukee & Mississippi R. R. Co., the agitation dates farther back. On January 13, 1836, Mr. Edgerton, whose name appears in the list of members of the committee given above, and who was at this time a member of the committee on internal improvements of the legislative council of the Territory of Michigan,[1] then in session at Green Bay, reported in favor of a memorial to congress. This calls the attention of congress to the increasing lake traffic, and to the necessity of constructing light-houses and improving harbors. It dwells upon the importance of the Fox, Wisconsin, and Mississippi rivers; and asks for an appropriation to survey them and remove obstructions, asserting that the loss of time, and the damage to vessels and cargo, exceeded ten per cent of the whole amount of merchandise transported — or a dead loss of two hundred thousand dollars annually. It recites delays and injuries of the mails, and difficulties encountered in moving troops from Fort Howard. But the burden of the memorial falls upon the Milwaukee & Mississippi R. R. This railroad, it is asserted, "claims the attention of all who take an interest in the prosperity and growth of our country," and congress is asked to make an appropriation for an examination and survey of the route.

Something may be judged of the importance of this railroad [continue the memorialists], by calculating the immense saving that through its means might be made in transporting lead by way of the Erie Canal to New York. The average cost of transporting this lead to the navigable waters

councillors and fourteen representatives in the legislature, what was then Milwaukee county had two and three members respectively.

[1] Wisconsin was still a part of Michigan Territory. The act establishing Territorial government in Wisconsin was not passed by congress until April 20, 1836.

of the Mississippi, is thirty-one cents per hundred pounds. From thence to New York, it is one dollar and twenty-five cents per hundred pounds. By means of a railroad running directly through the heart of the mining country, the cost of transporting this amount to Lake Michigan would but little exceed the present cost of transporting it to the Mississippi. From Lake Michigan, by way of the Erie Canal to New York, the cost of transportation is but forty-two cents per hundred pounds. By allowing the cost of transportation by the way of the railroad to Lake Michigan to be thirty-five cents per hundred pounds, which it will not exceed, the cost of transporting the fourteen million pounds of lead by the different routes would stand thus:

I. By the way of New Orleans.

31c per 100 for delivering it upon the Mississippi	$43,400 00
$1.25 per 100 from thence to New York.	175,400 00
	$218,800 00

II. By the way of the Erie Canal.

35c per 100 to Lake Michigan.	$49,000 00
42c per 100 from thence to New York.	58,800 00
	$107,800 00

Making a saving in the transportation by way of the Erie Canal, of $110,000 00

Besides this, persons shipping their lead by the way of the Erie canal would be enabled to get the proceeds of their sales at least three months sooner than by the way of New Orleans. Valuing the lead at six cents per pound in New York, and deducting from the sum the amount of the transportation, a balance of seven hundred thirty-two thousand eight hundred dollars is left. The interest upon this amount, at seven per cent for three months lost time, will amount to twelve thousand eight hundred and thirteen dollars, which added to the balance in favor of the Erie canal route will amount to one hundred twenty-three thousand and four hundred thirteen dollars; add to this the saving of imports, and the amount will be nearly doubled.[1]

The weight of the arguments presented in the memorial, clearly group themselves about the lead trade. As late as 1842, at a railroad meeting in Madison, Moses M. Strong stated that the transportation of lead alone would pay six per cent on the investment in the proposed Milwaukee & Mississippi R. R. And this is the way he figured it out: The present output of lead is twenty million pounds annually; shipped by way of New Orleans, it cost $2.50 per hundred; from Lake Michigan to the east, it would cost but 50

[1] Memorial published in Milwaukee *Advertiser*, July 21, 1836.

cents; hence the smelter could well afford to pay 75 cents per hundred to the railroad, saving thereby $1.25, and still give the railroad an annual revenue of $150,000.[1] But how an investment of $2,500,000 could build and equip a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, the speaker did not explain; nor did he make it clear that the lead trade could with certainty be so readily deflected from its old southern route.

Even two years later, a Milwaukee editor expressed the belief that the output of lead would soon be so large that its transportation would yield enough to pay a "handsome interest" on such a railroad investment.[2]

The prize of early Wisconsin trade was shot and lead.[3] In the struggle for this prize, there were arrayed against each other St. Louis and New Orleans with their Mississippi and Gulf route on the one hand, and Chicago and New York with their Erie Canal and lake route on the other. This also is brought out in the Green Bay memorial. The agitation for the Milwaukee & Mississippi R. R. was but a part of the larger struggle between the east-and-west route and the north-and-south route. But while the lead trade seems to have been the chief object of this early rivalry, after about 1845 the tendency to overestimate the importance of the lead trade died out, and the agricultural interests gained the ascendency. In 1846, the estimated receipts from tariffs on the traffic between Milwaukee and the Mississippi amounted to $352,000, divided as follows:[4]

Agricultural products	$200,000
Passengers	60,000
Merchandise	50,000
Lead	42,000

It is possible that these figures are not reliable; yet it is fair to assume that they indicate the relative importance

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[1] *Sentinel and Gazette*, January 29, 1842.

[2] *Id.*, November 20, 1844.

[3] Cf. Libby "The Significance of the Lead and Shot Trade in Early Wisconsin History," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xiii, pp. 293ff.

[4] *Sentinel and Gazette*, January 30, 1846.

of the receipts. Lead, it will be seen, contributed only about twelve per cent of the total.

The growing importance of the wheat trade was reinforced by the development of the Rock River valley. In a letter of August 21, 1850, Henry Dodge, writing to R. J. Walker, gives the following figures from the "census taken under Territorial authority:"[1]

	Population in 1840.	*1846.*
Rock county	1,701	12,405
Jefferson county	904	8,680
Dodge county	67	7,787

These figures clearly indicate an increasing capacity of the Rock River valley to support a railroad. Beloit and Janesville were henceforth to receive competing bids from Milwaukee, Southport (later Kenosha), Chicago, and the Mississippi towns. The question was, In what direction shall the surplus produce of this rich valley flow? The export wheat trade of Milwaukee had risen from 133,310 bushels in 1845[2] to 2,208,517 bushels in 1849, or a steady annual increase of 100 per cent.; of this, the Rock River valley contributed a large amount.

In 1848, the total imports of Milwaukee amounted to $3,828,650, while the exports were valued at $2,098,469.36, of which 93 per cent was wheat, only 2½ per cent lead and shot, and the remainder hides, pork and beef, and sundries. During the same year, the lead and shot trade of St. Louis had begun its decline. These facts support the statement made above, concerning the decreasing relative significance of the lead and shot trade after 1845. Wheat was now the prize. "Not to speak of mines and lumber, the one, the main and almost the only article of export for Wisconsin, must be wheat."[3]

In the southwestern part of the Territory, sentiment was partly in favor of a railroad to Chicago, due largely to the

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[1] *Sentinel and Gazette*, September 26, 1850.

[2] *American Railroad Journal*, June 1, 1850, p. 344.

[3] *Id.*, March 6, 1848. See also, *Mineral Point Democrat* of November 26, 1845, for statistics which point to the same conclusion.

great influence of Galena, which was pushing the Chicago & Galena R. R. project. Southport (Kenosha) was anxious to build a railroad to Beloit and the south, connecting with the Chicago & Galena. Both these factors, as well as the Rock River Valley R. R. scheme, were obstacles in the way of the Milwaukee & Mississippi. However, on the whole, western Wisconsin ably supported the Milwaukee enterprise. "Oh, for a good road across the territory," are the words with which one editor of that section closes his exhortation. For want of such a road, says another, "the western part of Wisconsin Territory is actually going into decay."[1] Here were farmers, occupying one of the finest agricultural sections of the union, who could dispose of only a small part of their produce, and that altogether for home consumption. The difficulties attendant upon the navigation of the Mississippi, and the consequent high rate of freight, shut them out from a southern outlet, while bad roads to the Lake as effectually prevented them from getting an eastern market. "Large quantities of surplus produce have been left by our farmers to rot upon the ground the past season, for want of a good communication by which to find a market. * * * The positive result of this state of things, if continued, will be the gradual depopulation of the western part of the Territory." At the same time "great numbers" of miners and farmers were migrating to the copper region on Lake Superior, and to Oregon. Such was the "melancholy" condition of western Wisconsin. Perhaps some of these accounts were exaggerated, yet one can not read them without feeling that western Wisconsin was really suffering. Its people were longing for the day when they might share the transportation facilities of their fellows in the eastern part of the state. A tide of emigration was moving westward, with "the spray of the Lake still on their garments," and another was moving eastward from the Mississippi. There was a "suture" between these two waves. Their edges

[1] *Grant County Herald*, April 8, 1843.

had not yet united. The river and the lake had been "feeling for each other," and the railroad must unite them, even though "Sin and Death" should get the contract.[1]

The country immediately west of the Mississippi re-echoed these sentiments. Internal-improvement conventions and railroad meetings were held, during various intervals, at McGregor, Dubuque, Keokuk, Cedar Rapids, and other places. A memorial was addressed to the Wisconsin legislature, by the legislature of Iowa, praying for direct communication with the lake. Iowa, a "rich and fast growing State," would then pour her surplus produce into Wisconsin and swell the revenues of this railroad.[2] While the expressions of these meetings and of the legislature may have been inspired largely by men personally interested, they could not have received such wide support had there not been something genuine at the bottom. Economically, southwestern Wisconsin and eastern Iowa were a unit. "Although once united with us,[3] Law and the Mississippi have now divorced the great Territories, Iowa and Wisconsin. If a mountain ridge like the Andes were planted between us, we should not be more effectually separated than we now are because neither Iowa nor Wisconsin would rest until they had bored some holes through Nature's great partition walls, so that they could pass back and forth at less expense than the present cost of ferriage. * * * The position of Iowa, the laws of trade, the boundless resources of Iowa, so rapidly developing, her business and her products swelling and pressing onward to the shores of the Mississippi must and will force a channel of trade eastward through the valleys of the Lakes. Of this business and trade, Dubuque is destined to be the grand depot."[4]

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[1] *Grant County Herald*, September 5, 1846.

[2] *Prairie du Chien Patriot*, February 23, 1846; February 28, 1849; January 16, 1850.

[3] It will be remembered that Iowa was at one time a part of Wisconsin Territory.

[4] *Grant County Herald*, October 10, 1846.

This clamor did not fall on deaf ears. Both the Territorial legislatures and governors took up the cry. In his first message (October 26, 1836), Governor Dodge devotes some space to the general question of internal improvements, and then commends the Milwaukee & Mississippi project to the "citizens of Wisconsin who have strong claims on the patronage of the government in granting a donation in land for that important purpose."[1] These alleged claims of Wisconsin to federal patronage were based on the tolls, amounting to "millions of pounds of lead annually," which were paid for the use of the lead mines.[2] The legislature, in response to Governor Dodge's appeal, memorialized congress, setting forth the usual arguments, and asking for an appropriation.[3] Congress finally appropriated $2,000 for a survey.[4] Under the direction of the federal government a topographical engineer actually began the work, but after having examined about twenty miles of the route reported against the plan.[5] Meanwhile five years had elapsed, and at the end of this time the favorite project was sunk in the indifference of a federal engineer. At least, that is the way Wisconsin people looked upon it. They had become comparatively modest, too. It was no longer a railroad to the Rocky Mountains, or even

[1] *House Journal, Wis. Legis.*, 1836, p. 13; Milwaukee *Advertiser*, November 3, 1836.

[2] *Id.*, August 18, 1836.

[3] *Council Journal, Wis. Legis.*, 1836, p. 64. The policy of land grants had been inaugurated by the federal government in 1824; it is therefore not strange that Wisconsin should, so early in her history, have stretched out her hands as others had done. The indifference with which members of congress frequently treated the public domain is wittily reflected in one of the congressional debates on the organization of a Territorial government in Wisconsin. The salary of the governor was under discussion; said one speaker: "It is a matter of perfect indifference whether the salary of the governor is fixed at one cent or at one million. If he is to be superintendent of Indian affairs, and governor of a Territory where there is public land, he will get money enough anyhow." *Annals* 24th cong., 1st sess., p. 3222.

[4] Madison *Enquirer*, December 1, 1838.

[5] Milwaukee *Courier*, August 18, 1841.

to the Mississippi, that Milwaukee was immediately hoping for. If only she could secure one from Milwaukee to Beloit or Waukesha, that would be better than none. But ten more years of agitation and scheming were required to accomplish this result. Not until February 25, 1851, was the line from Milwaukee to Waukesha opened for traffic.[1]

The necessity of improved means of communication and transportation during early Wisconsin history, can not be enlarged upon here. What bad roads are, all of us, unfortunately, may still learn from experience. During the years of which we have been speaking, it was not a rare occurrence for an editor to be out of paper, so that subscribers were obliged to content themselves with a half-sheet or no issue at all. "Out of Paper" was the title of more than one editorial.[2] The delays in transmitting the mails were as common in Wisconsin as they had been in other parts of the country in the same stage of development. Solomon Juneau, postmaster at Milwaukee, found himself called upon to explain why newspapers and letters mailed in Milwaukee early in April did not reach Madison until some time in June.[3] The newspapers contain numerous articles on bad roads, and some of the bad-road experiences are amusing. Thus, the editor of the *Sentinel and Gazette*, in his account[4] of a trip across Wisconsin, tells us that in the midst of Rock River woods he "encountered a man with eight oxen hitched to a half-loaded wagon. The team seemed rather disproportionate to the load, but the man gave it as his experience that four yoke of cattle were

[1] *Sentinel and Gazette*, February 25, 1851: "All Aboard for Waukesha.—The cars start for Waukesha at ten o'clock this morning, and it is particularly desired that all who wish to take part in the excursion be at the depot punctually at the hour named. Dinner will be provided at the Company's Car House at Waukesha, and for those who choose to remain over night, a Ball offers its attractions in the evening." See succeeding numbers of the same paper.

[2] *Grant County Herald*, November, 1847; Madison *Enquirer*, November 15, 1839.

[3] *Id.*, July 6, 1839.

[4] October 23, 1848.

not too many to hitch on to a buggy over such roads, and added that for his part he didn't pretend to start out on any kind of business *with anything less than a breaking team!*"

2. *Roads, canals, or railroads?*

Students of railroads in England or Prussia will remember that early railroad projects were opposed not only by people representing the financial interests of canals and highways, but also by those who had not yet been convinced either of their utility or their superiority over existing means of transportation and communication. Postmaster-General van Nageler, of Prussia, scouted the idea of a railroad from Berlin to Potsdam, saying that he was sending a number of mail-coaches daily between these two places, and nobody rode in them. People would better, thought Nageler, throw their money out of the window than invest it in such a nonsensical undertaking as a railroad. After 1830, Germany was rapidly perfecting her splendid system of chaussées, and these, together with the canals, were thought amply sufficient for her then rapidly-expanding trade. There was much reason in this.

Or, to take another source of opposition, one remembers the case of the Bavarian *Medicinalkollegium*, who, when asked to give his official opinion on the probable effect of the speed of railway trains — this was shortly before the opening of the first German railroad, Nürnberg-Fürth, in 1833 — on the human system, declared that the rapid motion of trains would cause a derangement of the mind, a sort of *delirium furiosum;* if passengers were foolhardy enough to expose themselves to such a malady it was the duty of the authorities to protect the lookers-on. Hence this learned physician recommended the building of a high and closely-fitting board fence on both sides of the track.

Aller guten Dinge müssen Drei sein. Dr. Lardner, an Englishman, made experiments on the Liverpool & Manchester railroad, which led him to conclude that the resistance due to atmospheric pressure increases in a proportion so much greater than the speed, that a velocity of forty miles an

hour could not be maintained except at a cost which amounts practically to a prohibition.

In fact, a speed of eight or nine miles was all that it was thought could be generally attained, and a writer in the *Quarterly Review* tells us that a "countryman" of Telford, the great engineer, wrote as follows about a proposed railroad:

> It is certainly some consolation to those who are to be whirled at the rate of eighteen or twenty miles an hour, by means of a high pressure engine, to be told that they are in no danger of being sea-sick while on shore; that they are not to be scalded to death nor drowned by the bursting of the boiler; and that they need not mind being shot by the scattered fragments, or dashed in pieces by flying off, or the breaking of a wheel. But with all these assurances, we should as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's ricochet rockets, as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine, going at such a rate. * * * We will back old father Thames against the Woolwich railway for any sum.[1]

Objections like these could find little support in Wisconsin. We had neither roads nor canals; nor had we physicists and physicians who could oppose railroad projects upon such theoretical grounds. Under the spell of politics of great geographical dimensions, which had recently swept over the country, a large element in Wisconsin was ready to plunge into the wildest projects. This will be shown more clearly in a subsequent section. The sad experience of her sisters and neighbors, saved Wisconsin from many of the evils which had befallen them. However, let us first consider the struggle that was carried on between those who preferred roads or canals to railroads, and the grounds upon which this struggle was maintained.

The Fox & Wisconsin rivers improvement agitation, together with the Milwaukee & Rock River canal project, brought the subject of canals before the public and kept it there. The opening of the Fox & Wisconsin route would have been the realization of the highest hopes of Green

[1] *Quarterly Review*, xxxi, p. 362. See also *Miners' Free Press* (Mineral Point), June 18, 1839.

Bay.[1] Southwestern Wisconsin was not unwilling to co-operate with Green Bay to that end. The *Grant County Herald* of February 6, 1847, in an editorial on "Rivers vs. Railroads," says that it favors the Portage canal, and that the Fox & Wisconsin route will secure the Galena and Potosi lead trade even if there were "forty railroads to Lake Michigan." The river route would be much cheaper. The Milwaukee & Mississippi railroad would cost more "than the entire valuation of personal property in Wisconsin." In this connection we must remember, as Dr. Libby points out,[2] that Green Bay citizens owned mines in southwestern Wisconsin. But northern interests were not then very strong; and, so far as one may judge by the press, the southern part of Wisconsin never exhibited much enthusiasm in favor of canals. As early as February 26, 1839, the editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette* dismisses the new canal bill with the words: "The Canal Bill will be found in our columns today. We have neither time nor room for comment." On December 31, 1846, the Fond du Lac *Whig* could publish, without protest or comment, a long letter asserting that the late convention for the Fox & Wisconsin rivers improvement had done nothing, and that either a railroad or macadam road was preferable to navigation which it would take years to open. The interests of Fond du Lac were divided between the Fox & Wisconsin improvement and the Fond du Lac & Sheboygan, and the Rock River Valley Union railroad projects. After the middle of the year 1847, railroad interests had gained the ascendency, although the Fox & Wisconsin scheme retained considerable importance, as we may judge from a letter published in the Fond du Lac *Journal* of September 26, 1850, in which Mr. Hobart of Sheboygan, the nominee for congress, explained his position on the question of internal improvements, and promised to support the Fox & Wisconsin scheme.[3] How soon railroad interests overshadowed

[1] Fond du Lac *Whig*, December 31, 1846; January 7 and 21, 1847.

[2] Libby's "Significance of the Lead and Shot Trade."

[3] See also Fond du Lac *Whig*, February 18 and March 18, 1847.

the Milwaukee & Rock River Canal project, will be brought out in the section on the canal lands.

We come now to the struggle between those who advocated certain other kinds of roads and those who favored railroads. In this connection, we may consider two sources of opposition: (1) opposition arising from the belief that Wisconsin could not yet support railroads, and that macadam or plankroads were more beneficial to the farmers; (2) opposition due to the alleged monopolistic nature of railroads.

The Milwaukee *Sentinel and Gazette* of January 6, 1848, contains the following communication:

> Mr. Editor:—I have seen much in your city papers on the subject of roads; many are advocating Railroads; that is well; but have you capital to build them, and can you for a great number of years to come, induce foreigners to invest in so new a country as yours? If not, why do you not advocate Plank Roads? ten miles of which can be built for the cost of one of Rail Road, and in my opinion they would enhance the value of the farming interest as well as the general prosperity of your city more than Rail Roads. Each farmer could take a small interest in the stock, and pay for it in materials for building, and do much of the labor, thus building up your own prosperity instead of waiting for "dead men's shoes." It is a subject that the present state of the roads admonishes one should be agitated.

Another letter, published later in the same paper (September 2), asserts that railroad stock will be much below par after the Milwaukee & Watertown Plank Road has been built. The plankroad agitation was at its height in 1848. "Plankroads are the railroads of the people." "Turnpikes and macadams have each had their day. * * * I would as soon solicit subscriptions for stock in a road to the moon, than for the building of a turnpike or macadam." "Plankroad meetings" followed one another in rapid succession in Beaver Dam, Watertown, Fort Atkinson, and other places. Long reports of these meetings fill the newspapers, and letters supporting plankroads are often found side by side with those advocating railroads.[1]

[1] *Sentinel and Gazette*, January 6, 18, 19; February 16, 18, 19, 22, 28, 29; March 21, 28, 31; and April 8, 1848. The *Southport American* (Kenosha), of November 4, 1843, discusses the relative merits of

The fact that farmers could use their own vehicles on plankroads, was a great advantage over railroads, and leads us to the second source of opposition noted above: the monopolistic nature of railroad transportation. One of the objections raised against early railway projects in Prussia

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canals, macadams, and railroads. It decides, naturally, in favor of railroads, but takes pains to point out why the Southport & Beloit route would be more profitable than the Milwaukee & Mississippi route. Even the editor of the *Sentinel and Gazette*, October 16, 1844, could momentarily so far forget himself as to say: "Our preference * * * would be in favor of a good McAdamized road. On such a road we would drive a borrowed fashionable horse Jehu like." See also *Kenosha Telegraph*, January 17, 1851.

The subject of road-making in Wisconsin is too large to be attempted in this essay. However, in connection with this struggle between roads and railroads, it is interesting to take notice of a book which seems to have exerted considerable influence on the public. I refer to *A Manual of the Principles and Practice of Road-Making, comprising the Location, Construction, and Improvement of Roads, (Common, Macadam, Paved, Planked etc.) and Rail-Roads*, by W. M. Gillespie, A. M., C. E., professor of civil engineering in Union College. This book, an octavo of three hundred and seventy-two pages, had reached its eighth edition in 1855. The Milwaukee *Sentinel and Gazette* of February 19, 1848, has an editorial on it, and it is quoted in occasional letters (*Ibid.*, January 9, 1849) on the subject of roads. How much influence the book really had, I shall not venture to state. However, it seems clear that some of the arguments advanced in favor of plankroads can be traced to this source. Thus, on p. 249 we read: "Plank roads are the *Farmer's Railroads*. He profits most by their construction, though all classes of the community are benefited by such an improvement. * * * The peculiar merit of plank roads is, that the great diminution of friction upon them makes them more akin to railroads than to common roads, with the advantage over railroads, that every one can drive his wagon upon them." Then, after pointing out the possibilities of carrying products to the market at all times and during all seasons, and the consequent rise in the value of contiguous farm lands "to such a degree as to excite the envy and complaints of those living" away from them, he continues: "He [the farmer] can therefore sell cheaper, and yet gain more. The consumer of his produce, wood, etc., gets a better supply of all articles, and at lower prices. The shopkeepers carry on an active trade with their country customers, at times when, were it not for these roads, they would have nothing to do. It is one of those few business arrangements by which all parties gain, and which, therefore, in the words of Clinton, actually 'augment the public wealth.'"

was, that the vehicles used on the chaussée could not be used on railroads, and both Prussian and English law provided for the running of cars by different carriers over the same track.

The following pages will show what the attitude of the public was, as reflected in editorials, letters, and addresses before the railroad problem had become a practical one in Wisconsin.

An editorial in the Milwaukee *Advertiser* of September 15, 1836, contains these words: "* * * nor do we wish to see our Legislature rush headlong into the granting of monopolies, which, however innocent they might be at present, would in the end embarrass Wisconsin in her future Internal Improvement operations, and paralyze the efforts of her people. We wish to see the utility of chartered monopolies, before they receive our sanction."

In our national history this was the period of wild speculation and of financial disaster. Jackson's war on that "most hateful of all monopolies," the United States Bank, had led people in the West to look with suspicion upon the appearance of similar "monsters." It was not strange, therefore, that the people of Wisconsin should have suspected anything which was reputed to be a "monopoly." Thus E. D. Clinton, one of the directors of the Milwaukee & Mississippi railroad, in a letter published in the *Sentinel and Gazette*, June 8, 1849, appeals to the monopoly-hating farmers as follows:

> The interests of farmers have always been subject to a ruinous monopoly; which monopoly as used by the capitalists, has always been diametrically opposed to the ultimate success of the farmer. No one will for a moment contend that we have not had to contend with this monopoly; and yet the farmers of the country are those who hold the power to do away with this burden upon their energies. * * * The design of this railroad is ultimately to benefit the farmers of the country, in common with our commercial interests; and how is this to be effected? The farmer owning stock owns also a share in each depot on the line, and the person who has the charge of the depot is *his* agent. Now, supposing, *your* agent in Milwaukee telegraphs to any agent on the line where your wheat is stored, that wheat buyers will give so much for a boat load of wheat; the cars will de-

posit that wheat in Milwaukee in six hours at the farthest, from the time the order was received. *Thus you will, by taking stock in this railroad, ruin this accursed monopoly*, and at the same time obtain the highest price for your wheat * * * The railroad must be built, and it remains for you to say whether the stock-holders shall consist of enterprising farmers or eastern capitalists. If you refuse to take stock there is no alternative — eastern capital will step in *and we shall forever be cursed with monopolies* * * * Let every farmer who has the interest of the farming community at heart step in ere it is too late.

The *Fond du Lac Journal*[1] laments that the Milwaukee & Fond du Lac railroad bill was "sacrificed upon the altar of bloated monopoly," and speaking of corporations[2] the editor says:

They have always found some way of squandering the funds, despite the checks imposed by legislation; and what has rendered their operations doubly criminal, is the fact that instead of benefiting the public in the least by the advancement of a great work, the funds thus entrusted have been absorbed into the purses of two or three individuals.

Southwestern Wisconsin had had some experiences with "monopolies." By 1843[3] the lead trade seems to have been controlled "by a few wealthy houses" in St. Louis, and there existed a feeling that this combination had succeeded in keeping down the price of lead. Judging by extracts from the *Potosi Republican* given in the *Madison Argus*[4] some agitation was carried on in Grant county at this time. But the *Argus* differs from the opinions of the *Republican*.[5] The former denies that railroads are detrimental to labor, to teaming interests, to tavern-keepers, and to country villages. It holds that corporations are evil only when they are chartered to do that which "ought never to be done by anybody," or that which should never have been made an exclusive privilege, but should have been left open for anybody. But corporations are beneficial when they do

[1] March 10, 1853.

[2] February 1, 1850.

[3] *Grant County Herald*, April 8, 1843.

[4] October 12 and November 2, 1847.

[5] It may be mentioned in this connection, that the *Argus* paid much attention to political economy, and published numerous essays (translated) from J. B. Say's works.

that which it is desirable should be done, but which individuals could not, and would never attempt to do. This is the nature of a railway corporation.

In his inaugural address of April 12, 1848,[1] Mayor Byron Kilbourn, of Milwaukee, one of the main spirits in the Milwaukee & Mississippi railroad, expressed himself as follows:

> There is in the minds of many an unaccountable misapprehension as to the effect of railroads upon the prosperity of the country through which they pass, and the places at which they terminate. Some look upon them as a monopoly, for the sole benefit of those who build and control them. Others admit that they are beneficial to the country, for the farming interests, but injurious to the business towns where they terminate. While others still, claim that they contribute to the wealth of commercial points where they terminate, at the expense of the whole country, and especially to the destruction of inland villages. None of these views are correct. It may be laid down as a general maxim, that whatever facilitates and cheapens intercourse among men, in all their pursuits of business, must be to each and to all beneficial. It is beneficial to the producer, especially to the farmer and the miner, for the price of his commodity will be enhanced in value, to the same extent that the cost of transportation is diminished. To the consumer it is beneficial for the commodities which he is compelled to purchase from a foreign market, come to him charged with less expense, as facilities are increased, and transportation reduced. These propositions * * * are so obvious that every reflecting mind will readily embrace them.

In the light of utterances like these, we are confronted with the question, "To what extent did such hopes and fears as to the nature of railroads, find expression in legislative enactments?" The answer lies in a subsequent section.

3. *The school fund, and the Milwaukee & Rock River Canal lands.*

In this section we shall briefly consider the attempt made to secure a railroad loan from the school fund, and a regrant of the canal lands to a railroad company.

In the second constitutional convention, the school fund was the subject of bitter debate. It was stated by Mr.

[1] *Sentinel and Gazette*, April 14, 1848.

Lovell that a school fund was not always best for the schools; and the experience of Connecticut and Rhode Island was quoted in support of this statement. Other members, with equal emphasis, denied these assertions. The Madison *Argus*, March 3, 1849, under the head of "Gold, Free Schools, and a Railroad," says that the proceeds from the sales of the school lands will be more than sufficient "to build and put into operation a railroad of the first quality from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river. * * * In what way can the fund be better expended?" By a plausible array of figures, the editor attempts to show that the traffic of such a road would be sufficient to pay expenses, to keep the railroad in repair and to keep up schools and libraries in addition. Such a road would enable Wisconsin to reap benefits similar to those which New York had gained from the Erie Canal. The constitutionality of the proposed disposition of the school fund could not be drawn into question, because the constitution expressly provides that the fund shall be invested in the "most profitable manner." And what could be more profitable than the Milwaukee & Mississippi railroad? However, should constitutional objections be raised, an amendment granting this power could be adopted.

A railroad convention held in Madison in January, 1850,[1] proposed that the "school fund should be loaned to the company on good security." The editor of the *Sentinel and Gazette* wrote a long editorial favoring the plan, and asserted that the western papers also favored it.[2] There seems to have been good reason for this last assertion, for at a railroad meeting of citizens of Grant county held at Prairie du Chien, the same month, a long series of resolutions was adopted, of which the eighth came out strongly in favor of a loan of the school fund. It is clear that Milwaukee interests were well represented at this meeting. The Madison correspondent of the Prairie du Chien *Patriot* asserted that various "mass meetings" which favored the

[1] *Sentinel and Gazette*, January 24, 1850.

[2] *Id.*, January 25, 30; February 6, 26, 1850.

application for a loan out of the school fund, had been managed by the railroad people. Their representations were so fair and plausible that a favorable vote was easily secured. Subsequent developments showed, however, that the security which could be given was insufficient, and that consequently the support of the schools would be inadequately provided for. "It would be easy," said the company, "to dispose of our stock to foreign capitalists, but we choose to have the road built by home capital, and thereby save the profits for home use and consumption, rather than have them taken off to other states * * * at the rate * * * of half a million per annum, as is the case now in Michigan."

The Potosi *Republican*[1] supported the Milwaukee plan:

It has been suggested that the school fund be loaned for this purpose. * * * The constitution provides that the commissioners shall invest all moneys arising from the sale of the school lands, as well as all other university and school funds, in such a manner as the legislature may direct. A safer and more beneficial investment to the interest of the State than this, could not be made. A lien upon the road itself will be sufficient security to the commissioners, and the profits arising therefrom cannot fail to more than exceed the interest of the sum loaned, which interest is all that can be appropriated for the benefit of the schools.

The Potosi editor then recommends the holding of public meetings in all the counties, to draw up the proper petitions to the legislature. The editor of the *Patriot* comments:

The suggestion contained in the above article is a good one. The idea of loaning the school fund of the State for the purpose of constructing a railroad from the Lake to the Mississippi, was long since entertained, and we believe first promulgated by a prominent citizen of our village. * * * The loaning of the school fund for this purpose will obviate the difficulty (of getting the money). * * * It will afford the best possible investment of this fund. Its loaning for this purpose will be attended with less trouble and expense than in any other manner, and therefore the amount yearly accruing to the use of our schools will be greater than otherwise. Besides the money will be paid for labor within our own state — the interest will be sure without any danger of a loss of the capital.

It seems now as if the exhortation of the *Grant County Herald* of three years before, was to be fulfilled, and that

[1] Quoted in Prairie du Chien *Patriot*, November 28, 1849.

"Sin and Death" were to have the contract, "rather than have no railroad at all."

But while southern Wisconsin was apparently quite ready to enter upon such a raid on the school fund, there were unequivocal signs of a counter-current from the north. Unfortunately the available newspaper material from that section is exceedingly meagre; but there is enough to indicate in which direction sentiment was drifting. The Fond du Lac *Journal* of February 1, 1850, contains the following editorial:

SCHOOL FUND.—That a desperate attempt will be made to swindle the State out of the school fund is getting to be too plain a matter of fact to be questioned; new-fangled projects of loaning it to railroad and other corporations are being daily started, and each scheme, however * * * extravagant it may be, finds its advocates. The Milwaukee & Mississippi R. R. Co. coolly demand of the legislature a loan of only a hundred thousand dollars, preparatory to making a larger haul. * * * The people of northern Wisconsin solemnly protest against the laying of vandal and sacrilegious hands, by the incorporated companies, upon the school fund held sacred and set apart by the laws of the State for the education of present and future generations.

The Sheboygan *Democrat*,[1] discussing the fate of the bill in the legislature, says:

The prompt manner in which they rejected the attempt of the Milwaukee speculators to sink the school fund in a railroad, is a high compliment to their firmness and integrity. Every effort was made and every appliance was brought to bear, to get possession of this sacred fund, and direct it from its legitimate channel. Byron Kilbourn, the projector of a canal that never was made, went up to the capitol with his picked men, made speeches, ate oysters, and drank beer, and as history informs us, they returned with their fine feathers very much in the condition of a peacock's after a rain. We wish our friends of Milwaukee god-speed in every laudable enterprise for the growth and improvement of their town, but when they seek to clog up the fountain of learning and intelligence to increase their wealth and power, we can but congratulate them, and especially their children, in their failure.

The legislative history of this attack on the school fund must next occupy our attention. A memorial of the directors of the railroad, addressed to the senate and assembly, sets forth the importance of the railroad project. It tries

[1] Quoted in *Sentinel and Gazette*, February 26, 1850.

to make it clear that "the company presents no features of a monopoly, that it has full confidence in the propriety of such a loan, which would benefit alike the interests of the school fund and of the State,"—for the company could produce "ample data" showing that the "nett income" of the railroad would be above 14 per cent per annum—and, finally, the conditions under which the loan is asked are set forth.[1]

This memorial was referred to a select committee composed of one member each from Walworth, Grant, and Dane counties, and one from the second ward of Milwaukee. There were standing committees on education and school lands, on internal improvements and on roads, bridges, and ferries; and the question naturally arises, Why was the memorial referred to a select committee rather than (say) to the committee on school lands? This select committee submitted a report of some length, and reported a bill authorizing the loan. The committee pointed out the difficulties involved in investing three millions of school money on the plan of district loans and as "the result of its reflections" it urges "the relative insecurity of the fund and its liability to loss, if invested according to the provisions of the present law." Therefore, feeling a "strong solicitude for the complete success in the operation of the school fund," it recommends the investment of that fund in the Milwaukee & Mississippi railroad. The bill was finally defeated by a vote of 41 to 21.

The case of the Milwaukee & Rock River Canal lands throws an interesting side-light on early railroad politics. The lands in question were the 500,000 acres granted by congress to the canal company, and which are now one of the sources of the common school fund. The history of the canal project lies outside of the scope of this essay.[2] While a bare

[1] *House Journal, Wis. Legis.*, 1850.

[2] For a history of the Milwaukee & Rock River Canal, consult the last chapter of Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory;* Lapham's *Milwaukee & Rock River Canal;* and the volume of pamphlets on that subject in the library of the State Historical Society.

beginning was made in building it, for a number of reasons the project was soon recognized as a failure; and an agitation was begun to secure its land-grant for the purpose of building the railroad. Byron Kilbourn was the active agent in securing the canal grant, he was president of the canal company, and later the president of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Co. In other words, the same men controlled both the canal and the railroad. But the canal was a failure. The railroad must supersede it. Therefore, the directors of the canal company petitioned congress for a re-grant of the canal lands to the directors of the railroad company: "*As a mere Company*, they have no desire for any change; *but as citizens*, the *members* of the company wish to see public interest preserved, which we doubt not it would be in a most effective manner by the construction of a railroad."[1]

When the interests of the Territory of Wisconsin are drawn into consideration, the petition states "that the grant of land was obtained through the *sole* agency of the Canal Company, without any aid or co-operation whatever on the part of the Territory,—so that whatever interest the Territory may have in that grant, has been conferred upon it as a *gratuity* through the *unaided exertions* of the *Canal Company.*" Near the close of this same document (p. 33), the petitioner asks: "Is there any better course to pursue, than so to use them as to secure the construction of a rail-road, binding together the great inland seas of our continent with the father of waters, with an iron band; and by means of the business facilities thus secured, binding together indissolubly the people of the remote sections of our favored Territory?"—The "promotion of the interests of all" was inscribed on the banners of all projects, even during Territorial days.

Contemporaneous utterances in the press appear to have been quite unanimously in favor of the desired change in

[1] Communication of Byron Kilbourn to the house of representatives, p. 17.

the land grants. Says the *Sentinel and Gazette*, October 23, 1841:

> The Milwaukee & Rock River Canal has been regarded as a project of great importance, and is one which has received the favorable consideration of Congress as well as the public generally. But the mere connection of Lake Michigan with Rock River will not answer the end for which the work was originated, until it shall be continued to the Mississippi; and then the immense expense of such a work renders its construction impracticable, and if constructed, that it should pay the interest upon the money expended. While a Rail Road, besides affording every facility of a canal for purposes of transportation could be built in one quarter of the time, and would be available at all seasons of the year, a canal would be locked up by ice nearly half the time. Another consideration in favor of a Rail Road is the facilities which it would afford for the transportation of passengers, the United States mail, the munitions of war to the frontier in cases of difficulty with the Indians. In every point of view a Rail Road would be superior to a canal. And could the grant of land for the Milwaukee & Rock River Canal but be obtained for a Rail Road * * * it would insure a connecting link.

Says the Madison *Argus*, December 5 and 15, 1844:

> A canal * * * is a fine affair where it is really needed. But because a canal connecting navigable waters like Lake Erie and the Atlantic ocean has paid for itself, and brought the state a large revenue, it by no means follows that a canal connecting Lake Michigan and Rock River would be equally productive in proportion to cost. A canal is to be made from Milwaukee to the Rock River and there it stops. It connects at the east end with an extensive lake coast, and so far it is very well; but what is there at Rock River? Neither an ocean, nor a lake, nor even a navigable river. There are neither steam-boats nor flat-boats running on Rock River anywhere in the neighborhood of the proposed termination of the canal, and the river will not admit of this kind of navigation to any advantage. * * * The business of the territory naturally extends east and west, and any attempt to turn it north and south into the channels of our shallow river must be an up-stream undertaking.

These were valid objections to the canal project, which must have aided in gathering support for the railroad land-grant scheme. The *Argus*, two years later, when there was more of a railroad fever prevalent, and canal projects had been pushed still farther into the background, gives expression to a feeling of the inadequacy of canals in language more vigorous than elegant. The subject of the

editorial is the "Erie Canal," and these are typical expressions:

> But, oh ye Yorkers! Do not dream that your old canal, 4 feet by 30, will long be able to perform the labor that is being chalked out for it. Could you see the everlasting west, and imagine the quantities of hog and hominy which it will jam through your canal on its way to the Atlantic coast and so on to the ends of the earth, you would sooner think that it would become as wide and deep as the Hudson, by mere dint of friction.
>
> The west! Why, you have not even heard from a quarter of it. And then the Oregon railroad — you need not smile, the thing will be done,— and it will pass through Madison by the way — and the trade with China and all that part of creation (*which is part of the west*) will be crammed into your little, narrow, pent up ditch. It would never do; your whole state would die with the cholic.

In his annual message of December 10, 1841, Governor Doty rather discouraged the Rock River Canal project. He thinks it would have been of greater benefit to have granted the land for a railroad, and recommends the building of "A Rail or McAdamized" road between the Lake and the Mississippi.

The Milwaukee *Courier*[1] contains a series of articles by "Democrat," supporting the position taken by the governor in his message. The issue of February 9, 1842, contains a long extract from an Eastern paper, in which a change in the terms of the canal grant made by congress, is strongly urged; and a postscript to the same letter reads as follows:

> Your territory must not think they can get the right kind of men to engage in building a Rail Road for them through so new a country without at least giving the canal lands out and out as a bonus. * * * They must not calculate to eat their bread and butter and keep it too.

4. *Internal improvements in the constitutional conventions. State or private enterprise?*

The struggle over the subject of internal improvements in the constitutional conventions of Wisconsin, was but a reflection of a phase of the larger struggle which had characterized our national history during the preceding decades.

The national system of internal improvements was inaugurated by Jefferson, in 1806, in the Cumberland Road

[1] December 15, 1841; January 12, 1842; and February 2, 1842.

bill. Under the influence of growing nationalism it was vigorously discussed and temporarily checked in the Bonus bill of 1816–17. The constitutional phase of the discussion received a hopeful impulse towards a solution, in the attempt to separate the questions of constitutionality and of expediency, in the long debates of 1818–19. The failure of the Cumberland Road bill of 1822, and President Monroe's scholarly letter, drew into question, with renewed vigor, the constitutionality of the system. All the old ground was torn up, and no phase of the question left untouched, in the protracted debates of 1824. During the administration of J. Q. Adams, the idea of a system of internal improvements was once more brought prominently before the public, and in the Maysville Road veto (1830), it received its death-blow at the hands of Jackson. This marks the downfall of a national system of internal improvements. While the national government still continues to make appropriations, all hopes of establishing a system of internal improvements by direct federal agency,—and from which the federal government might derive a revenue,—were abandoned in 1830. Jackson's determination to free the nation from debt, and to adhere to principles of strict economy, and his uncompromising hostility to corporate "monsters," were the forces which dealt the fatal blow. The new democracy, whose banner Jackson had hoisted, adopted politics of great geographical dimensions. Expansion was its war-cry. The schemes which were born in this atmosphere bore on them the stamp of the wide plains stretching far beyond the dim horizon, and of the great streams and forests which the new-born "nation" possessed. The geography of the country had become the main-spring of the human mind.

The argument, in brief, was this: Internal improvements are a necessity. The federal government cannot undertake them. Therefore, since something must be done, the States must impose upon themselves this important duty. The increasing activity of the States in undertaking works of internal improvement, was a characteristic

of the period from 1830 to 1837. The unparalleled success of the Erie Canal was something which every State thought itself capable of repeating in its own projects. We need but recall Jackson's war on the United States Bank, the pet banks, paper money, land bills, the distribution of the surplus, and the specie circulars, in order to bring vividly before us the sequences of the internal improvements and general speculative mania. We are told that the Michigan legislature had "projected one mile of improvement for every 150 of the inhabitants, which, upon common averages, gives one mile for every thirty votes," and that the States had contracted an indebtedness of $200,000,000 "unsecured by any property adequate to the support of such a burden."[1] The atmosphere which had once been the nursery of gigantic projects had now become close and oppressive, not only to citizens of our own country, but to foreigners who had sunk many a fine sovereign in the credit of the States.

The country now entered upon a period of State repudiation, national discredit, and the agitation of federal assumption.[2] The State governments had tried to do what was abandoned by the federal government in 1830, and in the attempt had fallen into disrepute. The pressure for improvements became stronger as the country developed. Their construction had been taken out of the hands of the federal government. The State governments had failed. And now there was but one alternative — not to build them at all, or to leave internal improvements to private corporations. The latter policy was chosen. Jackson's "monster" had now gained the ascendency. The period following 1837 marks the decline of the States as economic agents, and the rise of private corporations. It is into this period that the constitutional conventions of Wisconsin fall, and they must be studied in the light of the events just outlined.

The first constitutional convention met in Madison on

[1] H. C. Adams's *Public Debts* (N. Y., 1887), p. 336.

[2] Scott's *Repudiation of State Debts* (N. Y., 1893) gives an excellent account of this phase of our history.

October 5, 1846. Together with other subjects internal improvements was referred to a select committee.[1] As first introduced, the article was much more restricted in scope, merely stating that internal improvements should forever be encouraged by the government of the State, and providing that the legislature should in no case create or incur a State debt for internal improvements without at the same time providing means for the payment of the interest thereof, and for its final liquidation. The select committee was then discharged, and the article on improvements, together with that on taxation, was referred to another committee. Unfortunately neither the journal of the convention, nor the Madison *Argus*, which gives by far the best report of the convention, contains any significant statements made in discussing the article. A resolution,[2] evidently modeled on the national distribution scheme, was introduced by the member from Sheboygan, but failed to pass. It reads as follows:

Resolved, That the following be inserted as an article or section in the constitution of this State: That all moneys arising from the sale of public lands which have or may be given to this state for the purpose of internal improvement, except such as are given for a specific purpose, and the five per centum arising from the sale of the public lands, shall be apportioned by the legislature among the several counties in this State in the following manner and no other: One-half thereof shall be distributed among the several counties giving each county an equal sum; the other half to be distributed among the several counties in proportion to the population therein, to be ascertained by the census last taken before such distribution, the moneys to be used by each county for internal improvements therein, in such manner as the inhabitants may direct.

The journal gives no further information. Articles xii and xiii were finally reported as follows:

ARTICLE XII. ON INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Section 1. This State shall encourage internal improvements by individuals, associations, and incorporations, but shall not carry on, or be a party in carrying on, any work of internal improvement, except in cases authorized by the second section of this.

[1] *Journal of the Convention.* See Baker's "Bibliography of the Wisconsin Constitutional Conventions," *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1897.

[2] *Journal*, p. 166.

Section 2. When grants of land or other property shall have been made to the State, specially dedicated by the grant to particular works of internal improvement, the State may carry on such particular works, and shall donate thereto the avails of such grants so dedicated thereto; but shall in no case pledge the faith or credit of the State, or incur any debt or liability for such work of internal improvement.

Section 3. All lands which shall come to the State by forfeiture or escheat, or by grant, where the grant does not specially dedicate the same to any other object shall be held by the State as a part of the State school fund, under the same trusts, reservations, and restrictions as are provided in this constitution in regard to school land proper.

ARTICLE XIII. ON TAXATION, FINANCE AND PUBLIC DEBTS.

Section 3. The credit of the State shall never be given or loaned in aid of any individual, association, or corporation.

To what extent the provisions of article xii contributed to the defeat of the constitution of 1846, is difficult to determine. The press certainly aimed its hostility much more against the articles on banks and banking, and on the rights of married women. However, a letter quoted from the Milwaukee *Courier* and published in the Fond du Lac *Whig* of March 18, 1846, shows that article xii was one of the causes of a division:

"$60,000 Lost!" [The act of congress] donates five per cent of the sale of public lands "for making public roads and canals * * * as the legislature may direct." Now, no *particular* grants are specified in the act, yet the proposed constitution prohibits all such works, except when grants of land or other property shall have been made to the state, especially dedicated by the grant to *particular* works of internal improvements. It is plain that by the act of congress there is no "dedication" of the money to a particular work. If so, what work is it? The Sheboygan & Fond du Lac R. R. Co.? or the Mississippi & Lake Erie Navigation Co.? or the Milwaukee & Rock River Canal? No, manifestly nothing of the kind. And it is equally plain, that unless the act does especially dedicate the money to particular works, should the constitution be adopted, we lose the whole! * * * What say the people to this? * * * Sixty thousand a year Lost, provided the constitution is adopted.

Apparently the editor of the *Whig* approves these sentiments, for in the issue of January 21, 1846, he expresses his dislike for the constitution, on account of the provisions of article xii.

The *Journal and Debates of the Convention* of 1847–48 contains a much better account of this part of the proceedings than the *Journal* of the first convention. When article xii, on internal improvements, was reported to this convention exactly as it had passed the first convention, Lovell of Racine moved the following amendment to stand as section 3 of article xii:

> The five hundred thousand acres of land granted by the United States for purposes of internal improvements, or the avails thereof, shall constitute a perpetual fund, and the interest thereof, together with the five per cent of the nett proceeds of the sales of public lands granted by the United States, for a like purpose shall be Annually appropriated to the construction and repair of roads and bridges in the several counties of the state in proportion to their population, under the direction of the board of supervisors thereof. Provided that the legislature may at any time by law apply such interest and five per cent to other works of internal improvements; but no such law shall be valid unless it be for some single work or object, and be so submitted to the people at the next general election after its passage, and approved by a majority of the qualified electors voting at such elections.

It will be noticed that this distribution scheme differs in several particulars from that offered to the first convention. First, the basis of distribution is population, whereas in the first it was a compromise between population and area; second, it designates the agent under whose direction the sums distributed shall be expended (the first mentioned no such agent); third, it specifies certain works of internal improvements (the first is general); fourth, it reserves to the State, under certain conditions, the right to engage in works of internal improvements.

Harvey, of Rock county, looked upon this plan with apprehension. He regarded it as dangerous; the revenues thus accruing would be scattered over so wide a surface, and pass so many diverse agencies in their disbursement, that they would be "wasted and frittered away;" in its practical operations, the plan would place this immense fund where it would be most likely to form a part of a system of political favoritism; the friends of the amendment were fond of calling it the land distribution fund, but they were in fact making it a bribery fund, to be used to

favor the interests of party and politicians, and fill the pockets of individuals, without substantial benefits to the people at large.

Another member (Chase, of Fond du Lac) "was confident that two-thirds of the people were opposed to every such proposition," and that we should be burdened with high-salaried disbursing agents to superintend public works.

Another (Root, of Waukesha) objected to the measure because, if there were a fund for the construction of roads, people would "become careless in working them, and rely wholly on that fund."

Byron Kilbourn wanted the fund for the support of public schools, and advanced the usual arguments in favor of education. Besides, such a system of distribution was inadequate for undertaking larger works, such as the Milwaukee & Mississippi railroad, which it would require twenty years to build under this plan. He said also that for thirty years of his life he had seen frittered away in Ohio a fund derived from similar sources and appropriated in a similar way. This speech of Kilbourn marks an interesting phase of early railroad politics. In a previous section,[1] we saw under guise of what arguments Kilbourn and his associates sought to secure a change in the grant of the canal lands; we saw how the same men attempted to get a loan of the school fund. It will be noticed that Kilbourn's speech in the convention, in which he favored the retention of the lands and proceeds in the school fund, was made just two years before the legislative raid upon that fund.

Fox, of Dane county, said that he would not make a long speech about the prosperity of New York or the troubles of Michigan because of their internal improvements. If other States had been imprudent or unfortunate in carrying out systems of internal improvements, it was no reason for prohibiting them among us. Their experience should simply caution us. These improvements were to de-

[1] *Ante*, p. 224.

velop the resources of the State, and it was not wise to put them out of the State's power. The misfortunes of other States had prejudiced the people against any system of the kind at the present, and this might be proper; at all events, it would afford a guarantee that they would not sanction by their votes any scheme which might be proposed to them, unless it were a proper one. He merely wished to give the legislature power to submit a law to the people. It was proper to do this at any time; it was right to make the improvement whenever the people were in favor of it, and were willing to tax themselves for that purpose.

The amendment, standing as section 2 of article xii, was adopted by a vote of 23 to 14, whereupon Martin, president of the convention, — this was still in committee of the whole, — offered another amendment to the effect that when a donation had been made for any particular improvement, and was not sufficient for that purpose, the State might "pledge or appropriate the revenues to be derived from such work, towards its completion." This was avowedly based on the experience of Michigan with the Central Railroad. The amendment was likewise adopted by the committee — both of these amendments applied to section 3 of article xii. Section 2 had likewise been amended and reported back to the convention as follows:

> The legislature shall have power at any regular session, to pass a law authorizing a work of internal improvement. Such law shall embrace but one work or object of improvement, which shall be distinctly specified therein, and have but two points of termination. And such law shall provide for levying a tax sufficient, with other sources of revenue, to complete said work within —— years after the passage of the same. And no such law shall be valid or take effect unless the same shall have been submitted to a separate and distinct vote of the electors at the next general election succeeding the passage of said law, and shall have received in its favor a majority of all the votes cast at such election on that subject.

It was thought that the adoption of this amendment, and its incorporation in article xii of the constitution, would make it possible for the State to improve the Rock River and to build the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad. The

arguments in opposition deserve a little more attention in detail. It was urged that the attempt to carry out the proposed provision of our constitution would plunge the State "into the gulf of internal improvements" which had swallowed up the credit and prosperity of so many of our sister States. "The State is not the proper person or the proper party to carry on that system;" nor is it a legitimate function of the State government, because of its unequal benefits to the whole people. Again, it was asserted that the State could not carry on such works in as economical a manner as private individuals or corporations; that the actual cost of legislation during the progress of the work, was always a large item in the total costs of such improvements, as in case of the cost of Territorial legislation on the Milwaukee & Rock River Canal, which had far exceeded the amount actually expended on the work; and that as soon as a State government was formed, the State would plunge into such works and become bankrupt like most of the northern States. Besides being a source of expense, such legislation often engendered bitter sectional feelings, as in the case of New York. The provision prohibiting these works by the State, in the last constitution, gave unusual satisfaction to the people, and had often been pointed out as one of the strongest reasons for the adoption of the constitution of 1846. It was feared that a majority, combining the interests of the most populous parts of the State, might impose heavy burdens upon a large minority.

A vote being taken, this section was adopted by a majority of one. An analysis of the vote reveals no striking sectional grouping. Milwaukee was divided in favor, 4 to 3; Rock, which might have been expected to be unanimously in favor, voted in the negative, 4 to 1; the five votes cast by Racine (including Kenosha?) were in the negative, while Grant voted in favor, 4 to 1; Lafayette and Green cast two each in favor; Jefferson, 3 to 1; Waukesha, 2 to 1; Dane, 2 to 1; Walworth, 3 to 2 in favor. Were it not for the vote of Rock county, we might suppose that the prospects of

the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad decided the votes of the counties lying along the route; but it is probable that the disasters of neighboring States were the controlling factors. Taking the votes of all the counties lying south of the northern boundary line of Dane, the result stood 23 to 19 in favor, which clearly indicates that the hope of direct State aid did not at that time control southern Wisconsin. It is possible that the personal influence of those who had a direct interest in the organized canal and railroad companies, had considerable influence in increasing the negative vote. At this point, the journal of the convention leaves the history of article xii in the dark. The article[1] was referred to the committee on revision and arrangement, which reported it for final passage and incorporation into the constitution as section 10 of article viii, on finance, as follows:

SECTION X. INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

The State shall never contract any debt for works of internal improvement, or be a party in carrying on such works; but whenever grants of land or other property shall have been made to the state, especially dedicated by the grant to particular works of internal improvement, the state may carry on such particular works, and shall devote the avails of such grants, and may pledge or appropriate the revenue derived from such works, in aid of their completion.

Now, by the rules of the convention, every article was to be referred to the committee on revision and arrangement, after its third reading and passage (p. 7 of the rules), "who shall report to the convention all such verbal amendments as they shall deem expedient, not changing in any manner the substance of such article." The convention adopted the article as amended (above) by the decisive vote of 50 to 15; and as adopted, without pointing out many other differences, it reserved to the State the right, under certain con-

[1] A member from Racine (Sanders) introduced a very comprehensive amendment to article xii, embracing nine sections. However, a discussion of it would throw no light on the problem before us. See *Journal*, p. 351.

ditions, to engage in works of internal improvement.[1] The article as reported from the committee on revision, and as it stands to-day in the constitution, *prohibits* the State from entering upon such works except in case of special grants. At this point the question naturally arises, by what authority and in what manner was such a fundamental change made in article xii? The functions of the committee on revision were restricted to "verbal amendments." A majority vote of the convention could, under the rules, still make any change desirable. But the great change in article xii was apparently made in the committee; and, as reported thereby, the article was adopted by the convention without debate, at least so far as the evidence of the journal goes. It will be remembered that section 2, as amended, was carried by a majority of but one, showing that there was strong opposition to reserving to the State the internal improvement power. In contrast to this vote stands the vote on the passage of the article, 50 to 15. Is it not probable that the opposition voted in favor of the article on its final passage, in order to manipulate it to their own satisfaction in the committee on revision? Let us examine the *personelle* of that committee. In the first place, its members were not appointed until after there had been taken the close vote of 30 to 29, on section 2. It was, however, appointed on the same day, and immediately before the vote was taken on the passage of article xii. As appointed, the committee consisted of Dunn, King, Larrabee, Whiton, and Lovell. On the vote on section 2, Dunn was absent or did not vote; King voted aye, and the other three members no. Dunn had never, in the convention, expressed himself on internal improvements; King had spoken briefly in favor of retaining the right to the State; Larrabee and

[1] Following is an analysis of the vote by counties:

	Yea.	*No.*
Brown	0	1
Calumet	1	0
Crawford, Chippewa	1	0
Columbia	1	0
Dane	1	2
Dodge	3(2?)	0
Fond du Lac	2	0
Grant	1(?)	3(?)
Green	1	0
Iowa	2	1
Jefferson	3	1
La Fayette	3	0
Marquette, Winnebago	0	1
Milwaukee	5	2
Racine	5	2
Rock	4	0
Sheboygan, Manitowoc	0	0
Walworth	5	0
Washington	3	0
Waukesha	5	1
St. Croix	1	0
Portage	0	1

Whiton both had spoken against it; and Lovell "believed that the more humble and old-fashioned means of transportation were more generally useful"— in accordance with these views he advocated the distribution scheme favoring "roads and bridges," which we have previously noticed. The committee stood, then, as follows: three opposed State undertakings, one had not committed himself, and one favored it. But in the vote on the passage of article xii, and immediately before it was referred to the committee on revision, all but Lovell voted in favor of the article. Then when these gentlemen reported it back to the convention, they had reversed the fundamental principle of the article, in direct violation of the rules of the convention. It is probable that it escaped the attention of those members of the convention who had opposed its present contents in previous debates, because it was reported as a part of the article on finance, and at the same time with the articles on militia and eminent domain.

Without entering upon a discussion of the controverted question of State or private roads, this presentation would be incomplete without devoting some space to contemporaneous utterances on this question. The Madison *Argus* of December 23, 1845, contains the following in an editorial:

> We do not hesitate to express our opinion that a chartered company would be preferable to having it undertaken by Territory or State. We are all aware of the anti-republican tendencies of all chartered associations of wealth, and are opposed to everything of the kind, except in cases where an association of wealth is absolutely essential to the accomplishment of some object of great and obvious public utility. The construction of a railroad is an object of this kind. For a State to construct, control and manage a work of this kind, with profit to itself or advantage to the people, we believe to be entirely out of the question. In matters of economy, governments are always miserable bunglers, and a government railroad would be about as profitable as a government saw-mill.
>
> The same objections do not lie against a railroad charter which may be urged against many other kinds of charters which might be named, because: 1. the aristocratic tendency of associated wealth in the company, is more than counterbalanced by the tendency of the work to secure an equal distribution of wealth throughout the State, and this more than any one principle in social economy tends to keep up and perpetuate republican

equality. * * * With a railroad through the Territory, farms in the middle counties would be almost as valuable as any in the Territory, and goods could be afforded in the interior towns nearly or quite as cheap as in Milwaukee. 2. *There is scarcely any chance under a railroad charter, for peculations and frauds upon the public. If they charge exorbitantly for freight, the highway is before us. Travelling fare will be kept within reasonable limits by the competition of stage coaches.* They may run off *from* the track now and then, but they cannot very conveniently run off *with* the track. * * * Still there are prejudices existing in the minds of many in the interior against railroads under any circumstances, arising from an impression that a railroad only benefits the towns at the termini.

The same paper[1] contains an entire column on the constitutional principles of internal improvements. The ground is taken that the time may have been, and may come again, when the State should undertake the building of railroads. Thus, New York rightly built the Erie Canal. But when many states, especially new ones, imitated New York, disaster was the result. At the present time internal improvements should be undertaken by private capitalists, because: 1. Only such routes will be chosen as will prove advantageous to the public. 2. Private capitalists will build at much less expense.

The Potosi *Republican*[2] takes issue with the *Argus*. It holds that the State should undertake internal improvements, paying for them as fast as undertaken, and providing funds by direct taxation. A constitutional amendment should prohibit the State from going into debt for such purposes. Then only such works will be undertaken as the "public exigencies require."

The Fond du Lac *Whig* of January 21, 1847, speaking of the Fox & Wisconsin improvements, says:

We take occasion here to say that in our opinion the work should be in the hands of the state government. The whole state should reap the advantages of the work. * * * We do not like the constitution because it prohibits the making of any work of internal improvement however wise it may be deemed, or however necessary to the welfare of the State.

The Prairie du Chien *Patriot* published a series of essays

[1] Issue of October 5, 1847.

[2] Quoted in *Argus*, November 2, 1847.

on the constitution, signed "Old Crawford Forever." The issue of March 2, 1847, contains the following:

On Internal Improvements.—The provisions of the constitution contrary to the established democratic doctrine on the subject of monopolies, and the great injustice done by it to the new and sparsely settled countries. [1] [The writer thinks it prudent to prohibit the State from pledging its credit, and that] this state shall encourage internal improvements * * * But the great question is what kinds of internal improvements do we need; or are best suited to our circumstances, and how shall this be accomplished? It has been the acknowledged and established doctrine of the dominant party in the Union, since General Jackson made war upon the United States Bank, that monopolies, such as associations and corporations, are dangerous to the true interests of the country, and should therefore, not only not be discouraged, but should be put down. Now, what does the article of the constitution provide for? Why, in plain English, for the greatest monopolies. Internal improvements shall be encouraged by individual associations and corporations. [Illustrated by the Sheboygan & Fond du Lac, Milwaukee & Mississippi, R. R. companies, etc.] The capital stock of these roads must be taken, if taken at all, principally by foreigners. * * * The interest of the public is not consulted nor is it a ruling motive. * * * The interests of the people, therefore, must succumb to the interest of foreign stock-holders. But if the state, when able to do so without contracting debts, should make these roads, they would be under the control of the people, and, of course, be managed for the good of the people. But as it is, the constitution, if adopted, provides for the creation of monopolies with capital stocks of from one-half to two or three millions, and that too in the hands and under the control, principally, of foreigners who would, of course, seek their own interests and not that of the people any further than their own could be promoted by it. (Here the writer figures out the proceeds of the 500,000 acre grant, of the five per cent fund, etc., and advocates the improvement of rivers and the building of common roads rather than railroads.) * * * People of Crawford and the country north, and indeed of all the state, before you vote for the adoption of the Constitution now before us, whether you are a Democrat or a Whig, or anything else, remember that if you vote for it you vote for a system of monopolies of the most dangerous kind; monopolies that will grind you and your produce, who, or which may travel upon their roads, and which by being in existence will prevent the roads from being made. You vote for preventing the making of internal improvements which the state could and ought to make, by directing the funds given expressly for that purpose to another use. * * * You doom the country north to remain a wilderness and do yourselves and others the injustice of cutting off the very means for roads you looked for and expected when you settled the country.

[1] This quotation is the *title* of the article.

5. *A proposed system of internal improvements. The Chicago convention.*

The hope of a national system of internal improvements had been abandoned in 1830. The idea, however, still lingered in the minds of the people, and every now and then it was fanned into a revival. The West, especially, had long supported internal improvement schemes, and was even ready to enter upon an alliance with the South, in the hope of receiving the support of that section in securing large land grants. The idea of a system of improvements should be noticed, because in it lie the germs of a tendency towards general railroad legislation. The subject of general legislation will be treated in a subsequent section. Here, we shall consider the attempt to inaugurate a system in Wisconsin.

As early as 1838, there was introduced in the council of the Territory of Wisconsin, "A bill to create and establish a system of internal improvements in the Territory of Wisconsin, on the east side of the Mississippi River."[1] The bill provided (§ 1) for a board of internal improvements consisting of three members, appointed by the governor with the advice of the council, each under (§ 2) one hundred thousand dollar bonds. The board of commissioners (§ 3) shall have power to borrow $1,500,000 in sums not exceeding $300,000 at any one time, on the credit of the State. These loans shall bear not less than 6 per cent interest, and be paid in 30 years. The legislature directs the application of such funds. The proceeds and profits (§ 4) of such improvements are pledged for the payment of principal and interest; and, together with federal land grants and proceeds of land sales, shall form an internal improvement fund. The executive (§ 5) shall issue scrip on such loan certificates whenever requested to do so fly purchasers of such certificates. The remaining three sections of the bill are given up to provisions relating to the board itself.

Newspaper material is extremely scarce for this period.

[1] Council file No. 5, in office of secretary of state. I know of no printed copy of this bill.

I have been able to find but one editorial on this bill. The *Miners' Free Press* (Mineral Point) of December 18, 1838, says:

> We know of no other way [than that provided for in the above bill] by which to effect these important measures of internal improvements. We must endeavor to get as large an appropriation in land and money from Congress as possible; without which it would be folly for us to enter into the scheme. But before we begin, if we have the means of paying off the debt, when the works shall be completed, without loading the people down with taxes, we shall be able in a few years after to make such other improvements as may be necessary from the revenue derived from those which cost us nothing; we will be a happy and thriving people, enjoying all the advantages of a complete system of internal improvements without having to pay too dearly for the whistle.

Succeeding messages of governors, and the journal of the council, give us no information regarding the consequences of this act, nor do I find later newspaper references to it. So it is probable that it never resulted in more than a temporary agitation.

But a movement which had greater consequences, and which attracted great attention throughout the country, is next to occupy our attention. I refer to the Chicago convention of July, 1847.[1] The circular letter issued by the committee appointed by the citizens of Chicago, sets forth the objects of the meeting at some length. It informs us that public meetings had been held in various sections of the country to consider the high prices of freight and loss of life and property upon Western waters. At all these meetings, "the propriety of holding a convention at some convenient point was discussed and universally concurred in." The fact that Chicago had secured the convention, shows us that Eastern and lake interests had gained the ascendency over Southern and river interests.[2] The high price of freight, and the loss of life and property, were to be the chief subjects of discussion also, of the Chicago con-

[1] Wheeler, *Biographical and Political History of Congress*, ii, p. 294; 72 *Niles*, index; *American Railroad Journal*, for 1847; newspapers for 1847, especially from about May to August.

[2] Libby's *Lead and Shot Trade*.

vention. However, the closing paragraph of the circular expressly states that "whatever matters appertain to the prosperity of the West, and to the development of its resources, will come properly" before the convention.

This convention of over 2,500 delegates was non-partisan. There were present whigs and locofocos, governors and congressmen, doctors of divinity and laymen, and newspaper editors from New York and Boston to St. Louis and New Orleans.[1] Representatives of all these classes took part in the discussion. The press "East and West, North and South," had given extended notice of the gathering, and prominent men who could not attend sent letters of regrets. Thus, Henry Clay "should have been happy to assist in the accomplishment" of the objects of the convention; Daniel Webster hopes "the convention may do much good, by enforcing the necessity of exercising these just powers of government;" Thomas H. Benton, like Webster, wrote a long letter dwelling on the importance of internal improvements, but pushes his constitutional objections into the foreground; Van Buren wishes "success to all constitutional efforts;" and Lewis Cass simply regrets that circumstances have put it out of his power to be present. The Milwaukee *Sentinel* and other papers found fault with Cass for his indifference, being himself a Western man. This is only another indication of the prominence the Chicago convention assumed at that time. Silas Wright, D. S. Dickinson, and others also sent letters.

A committee appointed for that purpose, reported a series of fifteen resolutions, declaratory of the sentiments of the convention. They were debated at some length by a number of able speakers and, excepting the last clause of the fifth, unanimously adopted. An executive committee, consisting of two members from each State, was appointed to collect and transmit to congress the proceedings of the convention, and statistical and other matter "calculated to enforce the views of the convention." An analysis of the con-

[1] 72 *Niles*, p. 333, gives a list of the editors in attendance.

tents of these resolutions would involve a full discussion of the subject of internal improvements, both historically and constitutionally, which, of course, is here out of place. It is the impulse of the enthusiasm to which this convention gave rise which bears upon the subject of this essay.

Wisconsin papers, without exception, gave much attention to the convention.[1] The editor of the *Sentinel* says, "It will be a memorable convention, and the voice uttered by it * * * will * * * be a voice of power."

It was a grand national[2] convention, and it gave a mighty impulse to the growing nationalism of that period. At a public meeting held in Boston[3] for the purpose of electing delegates to this convention, Josiah Quincy, then mayor of that city, opened the proceedings with a powerful address in which the boundless resources and fertility of the West were enthusiastically depicted. The products of this West offered great inducements to the people of Boston and New England to attract trade towards their own harbors. New York, upon the recommendations of its chamber of commerce, took similar action. The eyes of the country were turned toward Chicago and the West. The West caught the inspiration, and with one triumphant sweep cast its eyes over the vastness of unsubdued nature and entered upon a long era of conquest. One cannot read the newspaper accounts of this convention without feeling the buoyancy with which the West rode on the crest of the wave. "Mr. A. Lincoln of Illinois * * * was called to the stand," says one reporter, "and addressed the convention for tabout en minutes." Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, "the elo-

[1] Fond du Lac *Journal*, July 22, 1847; Prairie du Chien *Patriot*, July 15, 1847; Milwaukee *Sentinel*, July 8 to 10, 1847, contain the best accounts, having a full report.

[2] The following states were represented: Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Wisconsin. The total number of delegates is variously stated at from 2,500 to 5,000. The absence of Louisiana is noticeable. Was it because New Orleans saw her star overshot by Chicago?

[3] 72 *Niles*, p. 266.

quent wagon boy," appeared on the stage amid the cheers of thousands. Horace Greeley was called for and responded.

How well Wisconsin caught the spirit is shown nowhere so well as in the "sentiments" offered at the annual celebrations of the Wisconsin Sons of New York.[1] At these anniversaries, each toast closed with a "sentiment." These sentiments covered a variety of subjects, such as "Wisconsin," "Union Now and Forever," "Holland," "Hungary," "New York," "Ireland," "The Pilgrim Fathers," "Our Own Franklin," etc. At the celebration of 1847, the following, among many others, were offered:

The Magnetic Telegraph from Milwaukee to Buffalo.— It unites the land of our own birth with the home of our adoption; may it make them one in interest, one in progress, and one in common destiny.

Milwaukee the Banner City of the West.— But twelve years since, a station for the Indian trader, she now numbers fourteen thousand as her busy population. Having laid her foundations broad and deep in churches and common schools, her course is onward and upward.

New York and Wisconsin.—Jewels worthy of a nation's diadem — the one the acknowledged Empire State of the East; the other destined to be the Empire of the West.

The "age of steam" and similar phrases appear. From the sentiments offered in 1849, we may select the following:

The Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad.— Projected and (at present) prosecuted by individual energy and enterprise, may it receive the favorable notice and encouragement of the state legislature, until its Iron Horse shall slake his thirst in the broad Mississippi, and from there may it be adopted by Congress, and extended westward until its iron bands shall encircle the continent and become the great highway of nations.

Plank Roads.— The small arteries, may they penetrate every avenue of our state.

A Carrier Boy's Address (*Sentinel*) of January 1, 1850, contains the following lines:

Before I close my annual ditty,
I fain would sing of our own city;
Tell of her trade and mammoth blocks,
Her busy streets and thronging docks,
And beauty, wit, and enterprise,
So needful to her onward rise.

[1] *Sentinel*, in late December and early January numbers, 1846–49, gives full accounts.

Her Plank Roads smooth as carpet floor,
Bring daily produce to our door;
Soon the Rail-cars with snorting steed,
Shall plough their way through rolling mead,
And lake and river shake the hand,
Across Wisconsin's happy land.

Without multiplying illustrations of this kind, it is clear that Wisconsin had caught the spirit of the great convention; and "felt that something had to be done."

6. *Asa Whitney's Oregon railroad.*[1]

Nothing can more forcibly illustrate what has in a previous section been characterized as politics of great geographical dimensions, than the project of a Pacific railroad. Asa Whitney, its projector, was a New York merchant who had just returned from a trip to China, and his great railroad to the Pacific was to open up the whole Orient. Wisconsin people looked upon China as a part of the West, and the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad was to be an important link in the chain that was soon to extend from New York to Oregon and Asia. Even a Fond du Lac editor could hold up before his readers the vision of teas and spices brought to that city over the great railroad "direct from China." As early as 1842, a Milwaukee editor advocated the Milwaukee & Mississippi route because "it would constitute a permanent link in the Great Oregon Railroad, which the indomitable spirit of American enterprise would, at no distant day, exhibit to an admiring world, connecting our Atlantic with our Pacific sea-board." Whitney's journey through Wisconsin (summer of 1845) attracted wide attention, particularly his stay at Prairie du Chien.

[1] For particulars of this enterprise, consult: *American Railroad Journal*, 1847, pp. 332, 348; 1849, pp. 519, 631, 645; 1851, pp. 404, 422, 728. 68 *Niles*, pp. 170, 312, 384. *Congressional Globe*, index for 1845–52. Wisconsin references are Milw. *Sentinel and Gazette*, Jan. 29, 1842, May 1, 1848, Jan. 4, 1850; *Grant Co. Herald* (Lancaster), June 28, July 5, 19, Aug. 2, 1845, Dec. 25, 1847, March 3, June 10, 1848; Prairie du Chien *Patriot*, Sept. 22, Dec. 1, 1846, June 15, 1847; Fond du Lac *Whig*, Dec. 31, 1846, Oct. 7, 1847.

A Grant county editor finds delight in the fact that Whitney, in coming West, had not traveled by way of Galena, of which place the editor seemed to have been very jealous; possibly because of the superior advantages which that city would enjoy upon the completion of the Chicago & Galena Railroad. Soon after Whitney's visit to Prairie du Chien, Ira B. Brunson, a citizen of that place, published letters in which he pointed out the dangers and weaknesses, as he saw them, of Whitney's project. The latter had asked for a strip of land sixty miles in width, extending from Lake Michigan to the Pacific. Brunson presented a long array of figures to prove that he could build the Pacific railroad for a grant of land ten miles less in width. Wisconsin railroad politics was closely connected with the Pacific project during the fifteen years between 1840 and 1855.

Whitney's memorial was presented (January 28, 1845) to the house of representatives by a congressman from New York. It sets forth the great commercial advantages to be derived from the proposed route to the Pacific. An unbroken line of rails from New York to the ports of western Lake Michigan was about to be completed. With a trans-continental railroad at its command, the government could concentrate the forces "of our vast country" at any point from Maine to Oregon, "in the short space of eight days." It would give us direct communication with the Sandwich Islands, Japan, China, Australia, and India. It would enable the government to send the rapidly-increasing number of immigrants to earn a living on the Western lands, and thus avoid the dangers of vice and crime, into which these classes frequently sink in our Atlantic cities.

In order to accomplish this, the memorialist asks congress to set apart a strip of land sixty miles in width, and extending from some part in Wisconsin, between parallels 42 and 45 degrees of north latitude, to the mouth of Columbia River. Being built at the expense of the public lands, this railroad should be free, except so far as tolls may be levied sufficient to pay the current expenses of

operation and repair. A low rate of tolls would accomplish not only this, but it would in addition furnish a handsome surplus for public education. Finally, the memorialist points out that Oregon must soon become a powerful and wealthy State; and, unless united with the East by such a railroad, would establish a separate government, monopolize the valuable fisheries of the Pacific, control the coast trade of Mexico, South America, Japan, China, and the Sandwich Islands, and be our most dangerous and successful rival in the commerce of the world.[1] In a speech which Whitney delivered before the legislature of New York, June 30, 1847, he presented detailed statistics and estimates in support of his project. He dwelt at length upon the expense of time and money involved in voyages to

[1] *Congressional Globe*, 1844–45, p. 218. The same idea is expressed in the Milwaukee *Sentinel* of February 15, 1853: "If we do not soon have a Railroad to the Pacific, we shall have there a rival Republic instead of sister States." Nor were these notions confined to the West. It is probable that, like many other things, these types of argument were imported from the East. A few lines from the New York *Tribune* (editorial March 18, 1850, weekly edition) will illustrate this. The article was written at the time Walker's Pacific Railroad bill was before congress: "* * * but such an attachment can not always be proof against the action of natural causes. California and Oregon can not be expected to remain forever attached to a Government which has its seat at a month's journey from them. The bonds of Empire must become feeble in proportion to the distance over which they are extended. * * * The sure and only sure preventive of this result is a railroad to the Pacific. * * * It would render the political union of this country perpetual. * * * The great result which with certainty must follow the completion of this road is the transfer to it and to the United States of the trade of Asia. The commerce between Europe and the East [Orient] will pass over it. * * * The wealth of every clime will pay its tribute to American labor. * * * A great part of the Asiatic products which will then cross our territory, will be paid for in American products. The vast grain-growing region of the West will then have China for a market. Our corn, which at present on its native soil is comparatively valueless, will then cheaply feed the now starving millions of that populous empire, who will thus become the steady customers of the farmers of the Northern Mississippi Valley. Thus will despotic and pauper Asia be brought into direct and constant relations with republican America.—The world will be enriched, revolutionized, transformed."

numerous ports, and upon the saving which the Pacific Railroad would make possible.

With great enthusiasm and perseverance, Whitney continued his agitation, addressing societies and business men's organizations; and in 1851 we find him before the Royal Geographical Society of London, over which Sir Roderick Murchison presided, and in the discussions of which Robert Stephenson took an active part.[1] While Stephenson appeared skeptical about Whitney's presentation, he both recognized and emphasized the commercial significance of the project. In our own country, the legislatures of nineteen or twenty States[2] had endorsed it. It had received the support of the leading chambers of commerce, particularly that of New York. It had at various times been reported favorably in congress. It had been supported warmly in congressional debates. Yet many people felt that our knowledge of the continent was not adequate to warrant an undertaking of such magnitude without much more elaborate surveys than Whitney had made. They said that his plan did not give sufficient security to the government, that prominent engineers had not yet pronounced it practicable, and that numerous other objections prevented them from supporting the plan. This sentiment was strong enough to defeat the scheme at that time. However, Whitney continued his agitation, and from about 1852 various members of congress were ready to push "a railroad to the Pacific." Whitney lived to see the completion of such an enterprise.

The first east-and-west lines in Wisconsin, especially the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad, were considered a part of a great trans-continental highway, and thus Whitney's project gave a powerful impulse to railroad building in this State.

7. The element of rivalry. Summary.

At the present time, talk about a British railroad to India increases both in volume and earnestness. The Rus-

[1] *Railroad Journal*, 1851, p. 422.

[2] *Congressional Globe*, 1848–49, p. 381.

sian railroads across Siberia and China, and through Central Asia to the Chinese border, appear to have aroused British jealousy. An additional stimulus has been given by the new enterprise to the British India project, which Russia is pushing post-haste, of a branch from her Central Asian line through Persia south to the Persian Gulf.[1] The element of rivalry which in this case is stimulating English sentiment, manifested itself in numberless ways in Wisconsin railroad history. Now it was the competition between companies of the same city, then again the rivalry between different cities and villages, or groups of cities and villages; finally, the local struggle was often but a part of a greater conflict between the commercial interests of different sections of the country. In the latter case it usually took the form of a steady business pressure, while the former phases of rivalry frequently degenerated into open hostility and bitter personal attacks.[2] Articles often abounding in abuse and gross misrepresentations, appear simultaneously in newspapers in many different localities. Alleged interviews with well-known persons were published in New York, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other cities, in order to effect or prevent the sale of certain railroad stock. Acting upon public opinion, these wars made and unmade railroad undertakings.

The earliest struggle was that between the Mississippi route and the Lake & Erie Canal route, which, as we have already seen, turned in favor of the latter about 1845.[3] Then there was a struggle between Green Bay, Milwaukee, and Chicago for the trade of southwestern Wisconsin, which practically was decided by the decline of the Fox & Wisconsin improvement schemes in favor of the railroad routes

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[1] "The Week's Current," June 26, 1897, quoted from New York *Tribune*.

[2] Consult Byron Kilbourn's manuscript "History of the Milwaukee & LaCrosse Land Grant," in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

[3] Henry Fairbank, *Political Economy of Railroads* (London, 1836), ch. xxi. This author, ten years before the change took place, pointed out that "commerce [would be] diverted from the western rivers, by railways to the Atlantic."

to Chicago and Milwaukee. The chartering of the Chicago & Galena railroad in 1847, and the arrival of its first locomotive in 1848, was one of the sharpest spurs to arouse Milwaukee activity. After Milwaukee had outstripped Sheboygan and Green Bay in the race for Wisconsin lake supremacy, Racine and Kenosha continued the struggle and prevented the fixing of an eastern terminus in the charter (1847), just as Potosi, Cassville, and Prairie du Chien had prevented the fixing of a western terminus. Southwestern Wisconsin held largely with Milwaukee, because of the much-desired northern route to the Pacific; but when a middle route to the Pacific seemed probable, that section gave Chicago greater support. The editor of the *Grant County Herald*[1] states one of the problems when he says:

> The northern road must be done speedily — done before a central railroad shall be completed from the Atlantic to St. Louis; for if done now, it becomes the basis of an extension of railroad westward to Oregon; if not done before the completion of a railroad from the Atlantic to St. Louis, then St. Louis becomes the starting point of an extension of railroad to the Pacific. The question is, *shall the upper West or shall the lower West be the great avenue of trade and commerce*, not only with the heart of this great continent, but ultimately with the islands of the Pacific, and with the opulent Indies.[2]

Again, in a stirring editorial, the same writer exclaims that we must have a railroad. "The northwest is lagging. The world is running away from us. Look around us. See our undeveloped resources; our fertile lands uncultivated." He expresses it as his opinion (December 25, 1848) that unless Milwaukee will at once put herself in connection with western Wisconsin she will be "not exactly a gone sucker, but her trade will have gone to 'sucker,'" for Chicago

[1] December 25, 1847, and June 10, 1848.

[2] That Horace Greeley strongly urged the idea of a great Oriental market, we have already seen. But one of his arguments in favor of a northern route to the Pacific, is too novel to be left unnoticed: "The necessity of a northern rather than a southern route is a natural one. It grows out of the form of the earth. Everybody knows that the earth is larger around at the equator than at the poles."— *Weekly Tribune*, editorial, March 18, 1850. In succeeding numbers of the *Tribune*, the Pacific project is argued vigorously and in detail.

would soon enter her rival's territory. At any rate, he thinks, Milwaukee should at once build to Janesville, and, by connecting with the Chicago & Galena road, give Grant county the advantages of two routes by rail eastward. The editor of the *Sentinel*,[1] commenting on an article in the *Argus*, gives expression to the prevalent spirit of expansion in the following words: "Wisconsin must and will be *the* great thoroughfare from east, to an almost boundless and productive west, beyond the Mississippi." The *Argus*, on its part, referring to the Madison–Janesville–Chicago line, sees no "occasion for rivalry in the construction of these great works."

For about twelve years Wisconsin has been *the* west of the immigrants. This can not continue many years longer, for a vast agricuitural *west* stretches away a thousand miles beyond the Mississippi. While our citi zens are congratulating themselves that they are finally west, the west is already receding from them, and the state is soon to become emphatically east * * * The living tide, within a few years will pass by us to *western* homes, and their surplus wealth will seek our railroads and water communications, as ours now seeks those farther eastward * * * The question in a few years will be, how can we make the railroad of a capacity to do the business. * * *

Mayor Kilbourn, of Milwaukee, in his inaugural address of April 12, 1848, very clearly set forth the position of the city. No other city on the chain of the northern lakes, said he, possesses higher natural advantages for business than Milwaukee. But these natural advantages may be lost by supineness or indifference on the part of those in whose favor they exist. Art and enterprise may do much to overcome difficulties and disadvantages of position, and change the current of commerce and trade from its natural direction into artificial channels. The history of New York and Boston illustrates this. But just as New York has her Boston, "so Milwaukee has her Chicago, in competition for the rich prize which nature awarded, and designed to be hers." Boston enterprise compelled New York to build her Erie Railroad. Will not Chicago enterprise compel Milwaukee to build the Mississippi Railroad? Unless Milwau-

[1] August 23, 1850.

kee is content to see the business of the finest region of the country wrested from her grasp, she must do it and without delay.[1]

The editor of the Milwaukee *Courier*[2] dwelt upon the jealousy existing between New York and Boston:

"They both appreciate the value of western trade. They are both determined to avail themselves to the greatest possible extent of the advantages to be derived from it; and in order to do this, they are determined, it would seem, to have a railroad across Wisconsin, if we only give them leave and do what little we can to aid the work." Millions of Boston and New York capital have been idle for years, and "the owners are becoming impatient for investment. They have lost all confidence in bank stocks; state stocks, since the doctrine of repudiation has been started, have become for the most part valueless, and railroad stock has become almost the only go."

This will be sufficient to show that the element of rivalry was one of the greatest factors in our early railroad history. Before passing to the next chapter it may be well, in conclusion, to summarize the chief characteristic of this early period of agitation.

Our railroad history begins simultaneously with the organization of the Territory in 1836. Wisconsin was then but a sparsely-settled frontier region with about 22,000 inhabitants. In 1840 its population was but 30,945, while by 1850 it had risen to 305,391, and in 1855 to 552,109. At the opening of the period, Milwaukee was a village "situated on both sides of the Milwaukee River about two miles from its mouth."[3] It had numerous rivals. Dubuque, Prairie du Chien, Mineral Point, and Belmont — which was then the capital — considered themselves its equals or superiors, while other lake ports struggled for leadership. The lead trade had brought people into the southwestern part, and with the influx of population into the southeastern part, there were formed two waves of population moving from

[1] See similar expressions in the *Sentinel and Gazette*, February 23, 28, and May 9, 1848.

[2] February 9, 1842.

[3] Milwaukee *Advertiser*, July 14, 1836, contains a description of Milwaukee.

opposite sides into the middle region. The Lake and the River were "feeling" for each other. There was an uncovered "suture" between them.

Manipulating the forces in each of these waves, were the commercial interests of St. Louis and New Orleans on the one hand, and New York, Boston, and the lake ports on the other. Geographical conditions, together with the relative decline in commercial importance of the lead trade, resulted in the ascendency of the east-and-west route; and with this ascendency, partly as cause and partly as effect, the agitation for a railroad across the Territory increased. The project of Whitney, and the expectation of making Wisconsin the emporium of the great West, including China, Japan, and other Pacific domains, fan this enthusiasm. Supported by the resolutions of at least eighteen States, the Pacific road was more than a vision to the people of Wisconsin. Iowa sent memorials to our legislature, urging the Milwaukee & Mississippi project, and "once let the iron horse slake his thirst in the Mississippi, Congress will send him on to the ocean." And had not Wisconsin claims to the patronage of the federal government? Could this modest demand of the Western child be refused? The southwestern counties were probably really suffering, and they were willing to let "Sin and Death have the contract," rather than have no railroad to the lake.

But some of these schemes were too visionary to be taken seriously. The Fond du Lac merchant might with some reason look forward to a time when spices might be delivered at his door "direct from Japan;" but what shall we say when a bill is introduced into the legislature to incorporate the Port Ulao, Lake Superior, Lake of the Woods, & Behring Straits Transit Company? Port Ulao was then a collection of a few huts, and had a pier. To-day, about twenty miles north of Milwaukee, the traveller may see a few farm houses, and several piles still holding their heads above the waves. This is all that is left of a "port" which could cherish such a gigantic enterprise.

But sentiment was not unanimous. Jackson's spirit was

abroad. Even in these remote woods, people had heard of a "monster." Some even said that railroads were such monsters. The farmers had been warned against "monopolies." And was there no escape? New York had prospered with her Erie Canal. Then, why not build canals in Wisconsin? Gillespie had declared plankroads to be the "farmers' railroads." Every man could use his own boat on a canal. He could drive, "Jehu like," over a plankroad, with a borrowed horse. There was no monopoly there. He could take his farm wagon and run it over a plankroad or a turnpike, but could he ever use a railroad in that way? His English cousin had invented a wagon which, by a change of wheels, could be used indifferently on railroads, turnpikes, or streets; but the Wisconsin farmer saw no such escape. And would he deliberately subject himself to the dangers of a "monster?" The teamsters, the tavern-keepers, and the village grocers felt that they were threatened with ruin.

We have seen how the promoters of railroad projects attempted to utilize this prevalent hostility to "monopolies," by urging the farmers to subscribe to railroad stock and thus build their own railroad, and have their own agents, their own cars, their own depots, all at their command. That would secure a high price for wheat, and in addition a high rate of profits on their stock. Sentiment was thus not only divided, but it was on both sides grossly distorted. Somehow, the sober after-thought did not assert itself sufficiently; and there were too few men who had well-formulated and correct ideas as to the real nature of railroads, to at once place railway legislation on a rational basis. When once the railroad mania had broken loose, blind enthusiasm reigned, until disaster revived reflection. There is something inspiring in these plans of our fathers for executing great designs with masterful strokes; there is something heroic about the courage displayed; but their lack of reflection casts a shadow over it all. The school fund itself was to be sacrificed. The most specious arguments were advanced to bedaze the unknowing, and the

most despicable means were employed to silence the knowing; while the few who had both courage and insight to work in the right direction, were lost to sight in the tumultuous struggle.

The constitutional conventions met close upon the eve of disaster in neighboring and Eastern states. These object lessons were brought before the conventions; and, in harmony with the national drift of the times, the State was restrained from entering upon works of internal improvements. In view of the legislative methods employed during the later years of this period, the decision of the conventions seems to have been a prudent one. The probabilities are that Wisconsin would have repeated not a little of the experience of Michigan and other states. Yet, conceding all this, there is nothing to justify the methods by which the article on internal improvements was incorporated into our constitution. Nevertheless, the question of State or private railroads was vigorously discussed in some parts of the State, and it is probable that the majority of the people approved that section of the constitution when they voted for the whole.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY RAILROAD CHARTERS, 1836 TO 1853.[1]

1. *What the charters contain. General provisions.*

A mere glance at the digest in the appendix shows us the heterogeneous character of our early railroad charters. In many of them, not a third of the elements essential to a perfect charter are found; and not five per cent of the charters are even approximately complete. There is hardly a trace of regularity in them. The utter lack of system is the more surprising when we remember that the railroads, for the construction of which these charters were granted, are everywhere essentially alike. Great diversity in law where there exists uniformity of conditions — this is the anomaly presented by our railroad charters.

Each charter names a number of persons who shall act as a board of commissioners, under whose direction may be received subscriptions to the capital stock of the company incorporated by the charter. After notice has been given in certain newspapers, within a specified time, the commissioners may open subscription books, and keep such books open until all the stock has been subscribed; or, may re-open the books, in case all the stock has not been subscribed. Only a few charters require a certain minimum payment at the time of subscription; but all of them require a certain amount to be paid in before the company can organize. The amount which must be subscribed before organization can be effected, bears no fixed ratio to the total amount of the capital stock of the company. After this minimum amount has been subscribed, the commissioners, or a certain number of them, certify under oath that such subscriptions and payments have been made in good faith; and de-

[1] See the digest in the appendix.

posit a statement to that effect with the secretary of state (or territory), who thereupon declares the subscribers of such stock and their associates, their successors and assigns, a body corporate and politic by the name and style designated in the charter, with perpetual succession. By that name they have all the privileges and immunities incident to a corporation, thus subordinating each railroad company to the general legislation on the subject of corporations. As such they shall be capable in law of purchasing, holding, selling, leasing, and conveying estate, either real, personal, or mixed, so far as the same may be necessary for the purposes mentioned in the charter. In their corporate name the company may sue and be sued, may have a common seal, which they may alter and renew at pleasure, and generally do all those things which are legally vested in them, for the best interests of the corporation.

After the required amount of stock has been subscribed, the commissioners call a meeting of the stockholders. While the commissioners themselves are required to organize, they can not act in the capacity of the corporation. Only the board of directors can do that. This board is elected by the stockholders, in accordance with the provisions of the charter. Usually members are elected annually, and have the power of filling vacancies in their own ranks. The only qualification uniformly insisted upon is, that a director must be a stockholder. In voting,—excepting the provisions of one charter,—each share has one vote; but no one shall vote on the basis of stock acquired within a certain number of days (usually thirty) immediately preceding such election. Voting by proxy is allowed. The board of directors, in general, has power to manage the affairs of the company. It chooses its own officers and fixes their salaries. It makes by-laws and establishes rules, orders, and regulations; and, usually, the charter provides that these shall not be inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, or of the State or Territory. The board decides the time and proportions in which stockholders shall pay the money due on their respective shares.

Most of the charters limit the amount of the assessment which the board may make at any one time, and provide for a reasonable time in which to make the payment, in default of which such stock uniformly reverts to the company. The board is required to issue certificates of stock to all subscribers, signed by the president, countersigned by the secretary, and sealed with the common seal. One-fourth of the stockholders may call a special meeting on giving notice similar to that required for the regular annual meetings; but no business can be done at these special meetings unless a majority (in value) of the stockholders shall attend in person or by proxy.

The route of the proposed railroad is, as a rule, described only in the most general terms. In some charters, not a single point is fixed. In others, one terminus is loosely mentioned, and the other designated, perhaps, as "some eligible" point on a certain river, in a certain county. The name of the corporation frequently contains the best available description of the projected enterprise. But in one way or another, some mention is made of certain points or localities through which the road is to be built. A number of charters provide for the building of branches; others give the board of directors power to connect their road with other roads; others give the board power to purchase or lease roads; and still others contain all these provisions.

With one exception, each charter grants the company the right of expropriation, and provides for the settling of disputes which may arise in the exercise of this right. It shall be lawful for the officers of the company, their engineers, or agents, to enter upon any lands for the purpose of exploring, surveying, and locating the route of the proposed railroad; and after such route has been fixed, to take possession of the necessary lands. The charters almost uniformly state how much land the company may lawfully take. In case the owners of the land, gravel, stone, or other material cannot come to an agreement with the company, the charters name some authority who shall appoint arbitrators or commissioners, to whom the question is sub-

mitted. In most cases, the charters prescribe norms by which the tribunal appointed for that purpose shall determine the value of the land or material, and the compensation to be paid by the company to the owners. If such owners are minors, or other persons legally incapacitated, the charter provides for the representation of their interests in these procedures. An appeal from the decision of the arbitrators or commissioners to certain authorities, and the manner of giving a final decision, is also provided for, as well as the conditions under which the company may use or occupy such lands while the decision is pending. The company has the right to cross streams and highways; but it shall in no case impede, obstruct, or in any way interfere with these, to such an extent as to inconvenience traffic. All crossings shall be made in such a manner as to leave the roads in as good a condition as before; and where the railroad divides a farm, the company shall provide at least one passage-way for each farm so divided.

Most of the charters contain some provisions as to rates. The earlier ones are somewhat restrictive, while nearly all the later charters leave the matter of rates entirely in the hands of the company. Charters which contain a special section on rates or tolls, provide that as soon as the company has constructed a certain number of miles of railroad they may do business and receive tolls; but in charters which contain, among the general powers of the directors, the power to regulate tolls, no such special provision is found. In the more restrictive charters, annual reports to the legislature are demanded; while most of them simply prescribe that the board of directors shall submit to the stockholders, at their annual meeting, a complete statement of the affairs and proceedings of the company for the year. A large number of charters contain provisions concerning the liability of stock in payment for debt, and a smaller number have loose statements about the distribution of dividends. Many of the charters contain a special provision by which the charter is forfeited in case the railroad is not begun within a certain number of years —

and these usually require the road to be finished within a certain period; while the expenditure of a certain sum of money in the construction of the road within the first-time limit, is sometimes provided. Some charters contain all these last provisions, and others only one or two of them. In the majority of charters, a violation by the company of any of the provisions of the charter causes the rights and privileges granted by the same to revert to the State. Besides, there are penalties provided in case of injury to the property of the company.

These, in a condensed form, are the general provisions of the charters of this period. No provisions, not mentioned here, are common to a considerable number of them; while those provisions, which occur in several, but not in a sufficient number of charters to warrant their introduction in the list of general provisions, will be dealt with in a subsequent section.

2. *Wherein the charters differ.*

In the preceding section we have noticed points of similarity among charters. To point out their differences is a larger task, because unlikenesses far outnumber likenesses. Here again an examination of the analytical digest in the appendix will be helpful.

The number of commissioners varies from one to forty-one — nine, thirteen, seventeen, and nineteen appearing most frequently; while a considerable number of charters provide for an even number. One of the charters names a single commissioner, who, together with the stockholders, shall organize — thus omitting the temporary organization of commissioners, which was the customary preliminary step. Another charter names three persons who shall act as directors; and a third names eighteen persons who shall at once form a body corporate. These eighteen have power to choose a board of nine directors, which power, as we have seen, was almost invariably delegated to the stockholders. In all other charters, the formal election by the stockholders of a board of directors was the significant step, before which

the company had no legal existence; while in this charter, the company comes into existence simultaneously with the granting of the charter.

There is less variation in the number of directors. Nine occurs by far most frequently from 1848 to 1852; while during 1853, thirteen is more common. As a rule these directors choose their own officers; but one charter provides for a president, twelve directors, and such other officers as the stockholders may elect. The later charters fix the number of directors to be elected at the first meeting, but allow changes to be made at any regular meeting, provided the existing board gives proper notice of the change which is contemplated. In these cases the charter prescribes both the minimum and maximum numbers,—not less than five nor more than fifteen being most common. A number of the earlier charters secured this same privilege by an amendment. The capital stock varied all the way from $25,000 to $6,000,000, with power to increase to $15,000,000. The power to increase the capital stock is contained only in a few of the later charters. Naturally one would expect the capital stock to have approximately a constant ratio to the number of miles of road to be built; but no such ratio seems to exist. Likewise one would expect a similar ratio between the total stock and the total subscriptions required before an organization can be effected; but this does not seem to be the case. It varies all the way from 2 to 100 per cent. Only in isolated cases is any payment required at the time of making the subscription; but there is great uniformity in the amount required to be actually paid in on each share subscribed, before an organization can be effected. With but one exception, this is $5. This exceptional case requires a payment of only $1, while five charters (out of a total of 59 which fall into this period) mention no such provision. In a few cases the amount of such payments is indicated by naming a certain per cent of the face value of the share.

There is some variety in the provisions about future payments on subscribed stock, with an unmistakable tend-

ency towards less restriction in the charter, to greater power in the board of directors. The charters granted before 1847, and one of those granted in that year, place no restriction on the size of the installments which may be called for, except that thirty days' notice be given. From 1847 to 1852, they contain more definite provisions. They limit the assessments to from 10 to 25 per cent of the face value of the share, and require thirty or sixty days' notice; in two cases, $2.50 on a share of $50; in three, a payment of $12 on shares of $100 was required, while several charters contained no such provisions. One of the charters granted in 1852, and nearly all of those granted in 1853, leave the matter of assessments entirely in the hands of the board of directors; one of them containing the modifying clause that the board should not have power to call for an assessment exceeding $100 for each share (of $100); and still another charter, granted in 1847, levies an additional tax of one per cent per month on all delayed payments of installments.

Incidentally, the size of the shares has already been indicated: namely, $50 and $100. In a few cases only, was the capital stock divided into shares of $50 each. One charter gave each of the first five shares held by the same person one vote, and one vote additional for every five shares in excess of the first five. All other charters gave each share one vote. The period of time during which the company organized under the charter continued to exist, was fixed in only a few of the earlier charters; while the time limits in which the rights and privileges granted had to be exercised, were fixed in the great majority of the charters granted during this period. A common provision required the construction of the railroad to be begun within three years after the granting of the charter; and in several cases there was required during that time an expenditure of from $20,000 to $50,000, in the construction of the road. The time allowed for the completion of the road varied from five to fifteen years — ten years occurring most frequently. Eleven charters contain no such time limits,

while a larger number contain only one time limitation,—either that in which to begin, or that in which to complete the construction. In the case of one charter, these limitations were imposed by an amendment.

A single charter only, outlines definitely the whole route of the proposed railroad; this is a charter, too, which in all other respects is the most imperfect of all, and which provides for the building of a road of minor significance. Out of about twenty-five provisions which form the basis of this comparative study, this charter contains but seven. At the same time it is the only charter which describes properly the entire route between the termini. Nearly all of the charters are remarkable for their lack of definiteness and accuracy in naming termini and in describing the proposed route. To what extent this was intentional, and the means of employing questionable methods, it seems impossible to determine. In some instances, subscriptions to stock were secured under pretense of building the railroad along a certain route; and then a different one was selected, and additional subscribers sought along the new route. For similar purposes, a change of route was secured by an amendment (passed, like all other amendments to charters, by the legislature). Lack of harmony in the legislature, due to rivalry between different localities represented by the members, was another cause of this indefiniteness. Thus, in case of the Lake Michigan & Mississippi charter, the Racine faction defeated every attempt to fix the termini, so that the charter simply says that the railroad shall be built from "some point on Lake Michigan south of town eight,[1] to a point on the Mississippi River in Grant county." In most cases, however, the termini are definitely named, and frequently a few intermediate points are mentioned. These are usually embodied in the charter name of the corporation, which, on the whole, comprises the description of the route as definitely as the charter itself. In many cases, the termini of the

[1] Town 8 embraces the northern township of Milwaukee county.

proposed railroad are described as "some eligible point in the town or county of —— to a like point in the town or county of ——," or, "on —— river." In general, the power to determine the route is vested in the board of directors, and this board often has power not only to "locate," but also to "re-locate,"—not only to "construct," but also to "re-construct."

A number of the earliest charters embody no provisions empowering the company to connect its railroad with that of other companies. In order to secure this privilege, the passage of amendments became necessary. Some charters give the company the right to build certain specified branches; but nearly all the charters granted from 1847 forward, give the company the right to extend, connect, or operate its road with that of other companies; those of 1853 usually contain a provision by which the company may lease, operate, or purchase other railroads. Beginning with one charter granted in 1840, and the first two granted in 1852, the charters often contain an express grant of the power of the company to consolidate its capital stock with that of other companies, under a joint board of directors. In a number of charters this power is contained in a separate section; while in others it is given among the general powers of the board of directors; and in still others it is only implied in the power to operate with other railroads, to lease or to purchase them. However, about one-half of the charters of 1852 and 1853 are silent upon this point. One of the charters of 1852—the same which contains the first mention of consolidation—provides that in case any railroad shall refuse to allow the company incorporated by the charter to connect its road with the same, an appeal may be taken to the supreme court, which may appoint three commissioners under whose direction the dispute shall be settled. No other charters contain this provision.

The subject of expropriation occupies by far the largest amount of space, and only one charter—the first ever granted—does not grant this power. The manner of

settling disputes arising out of the exercise of the power of expropriation by the company, follows two general models, that of arbitration and that of an appeal to some judicial officer, to appoint commissioners. In those cases in which the charter provided for arbitration, each of the parties named one arbitrator, and the two thus selected named a third; the three together, after deciding upon the necessity of taking the land or material, fixed the amount of the compensation to be awarded to the owner. In case the owner was legally incapacitated, the charter provided for the appointment of an arbitrator to represent the interests of such person or persons. And in case of an appeal, some authority, usually a judge, was named under whose direction a jury decided upon the case. This method was provided for in a number of charters up to 1853, when a slightly modified form of arbitration was employed, more like the judicial method described below; while in the preceding years the latter method was most frequently employed. The later method of arbitration differed from the earlier, in that it empowered the county judge or the chairman of the county board of supervisors to appoint three arbitrators in case the owner or owners refused to name one.

The method provided for in most of the charters, made it lawful for the judge of the circuit court of the county in which the land was situated, on the application of either party, to appoint three disinterested persons, residing in the county, whose duty it was to view and examine or survey the land over which the disagreement had arisen, and to make proper awards of damages. The report of these appraisers or commissioners was made in writing to the circuit judge, and filed with the county clerk of the county. Thirty days were allowed in which to make an appeal, in which case a trial by jury was provided for.

A number of earlier charters name the district judge; one names the "county commissioners;" one names the county judge or the chairman of the county board of supervisors; a larger number name any judge of the supreme

court; another the chief justice of the supreme court, or the circuit judge; and still another charter names the circuit judge, "commissioners," county judge, judge of the supreme court, or the judge of the district court,—notice the number of *different* authorities in the same charter,—to perform the functions described in the preceding paragraph as belonging to the circuit judge. Those charters which name a judge of the supreme court, allow an appeal to the circuit court, and the customary jury trial. This "supreme court," however, has probably no reference to the supreme court of our State constitution. As we shall see a subsequent section of this chapter, railroad charters in granted by the legislature of Vermont contain similar provisions; our legislators, when they attempted to adapt Vermont charters to Wisconsin conditions, forgot that there were no county officers called supreme judges, in our State.

The amount of land which a company might acquire, varied somewhat. In a few cases the company was allowed to take possession of as much as "may be necessary;" in a large number of cases, a strip four or five rods in width could be taken; in others, 80 or 130 feet; and by the largest number of charters, the company had the power to take the necessary land, "not to exceed 100 feet." In several of the earlier charters, ownership of or speculation in lands, beyond what was actually necessary in the construction of the railroad, was prohibited. Later charters contain no such prohibition. In addition to the specified minimum strip of land, it was lawful for the company to take possession of adjacent lands, when necessary for the purpose of erecting depots ("toll-houses" in most charters), other buildings and fixtures necessary for the operation of the road, and also to exercise the power of expropriation to secure the necessary gravel, stone, and other material. One charter made it lawful for the company to receive grants of land, and another forbade the company from cutting through an orchard or garden without the consent of the owner. This clause was repealed later. A

charter granted in 1852, marks the beginning of land grants by the State legislature. A separate section of this charter grants to the company the usual strip of 100 feet in width, and other lands necessary for construction, wherever the road may pass through lands owned by the State; and it further provides that in case congress should grant any lands for the purpose of building a railroad between the points mentioned in the charter, the company shall receive such a proportion of the congressional grant lying contiguous to finished sections of the road, as the section or sections of the road actually completed bear to the whole length of the surveyed route.[1]

About half of the charters granted before 1853, provide that the appraisers of lands or material shall take into consideration the advantages as well as the disadvantages arising from the building of the railroad; while the juries impanelled to decide on appeals from decisions of appraisers, "shall find the value of the land, or materials so taken or required by said company, and the damages which the owner or owners thereof shall have sustained, or may sustain by the taking of the same, over and above the benefits which will accrue to such owner or owners from the construction of such railroad." About half of the charters granted before 1853, and all those granted during that year, do not mention either advantages or disadvantages in making appraisals. Of the charters which do not contain this provision, a large majority provide for the settling of disputes by arbitration; while most of those which refer disputes directly to some judge, demand a recognition of advantages and disadvantages. In one case, an amendment was secured which empowered the chief justice of the supreme court to appoint (or re-appoint) appraisers annually. Was this to secure the appointment of appraisers from the locality where the road was in process of construction, or was it to favor the company?

[1] A late charter embodies the first part of this provision — granting State lands.

Excepting one, the charters of 1848 provide for the completion of at least ten miles of road before the company may open traffic and receive tolls. This provision does not appear at all before 1847, and appears with great irregularity during 1851 and 1852, also in most of the charters of 1853 — although in these, only five miles is required. During 1851 and 1852, those requiring five and those requiring ten miles, seem to be about equally divided.

There is some diversity in the provisions on rates in charters granted before 1850. Those of 1850 contain no such provisions, and there is an almost unbroken uniformity in those granted after 1850. This latter uniformity consists in the absence of any and all restrictions on the subject of rates. The first charter granted, reserves to the legislature the power to limit "tolls" at any time. The second fixes the maximum at 6 cents per passenger mile and 15 cents per ton-mile, for goods. The third is like the first. The fourth makes three cents per mile the maximum for passengers, and five cents per ton-mile for freight; but it contains the additional provision that for all transporters using their own conveyances, the maximum toll shall be one-and-a-half cents per ton-mile. The first charters granted in 1847, leave the fixing of rates to the company, but the legislature may alter or reduce the same, provided that such reduction causes the profits of the company not to fall below 12 per cent per annum on the investment. The next charter which was granted, introduced a provision which appears again and again: "On the completion of said rail road, or any portion of the track, not less than ten miles, it shall and may be lawful for the company to demand and receive such sum or sums of money, for passage and freight of persons and property, as they shall from time to time think reasonable." This section appears in all but one of the charters granted in 1853, except that only five miles are called for; while ten out of the fourteen charters granted in 1852, contain no special provision whatever on the subject of rates, and one of those granted during that year seems to be a reversion to type,

for it contains nearly all of the restrictive clauses of one of the earliest charters. Nearly all the charters, whether they contain a special provision or not, grant to the board of directors, among numerous other general powers, the power to regulate tolls. This phrase "to regulate tolls," and to establish toll-houses, is persistently retained during the entire period.

The second charter granted in 1853 (Michigan & Wisconsin Transit R. R. Co., to build a railroad from Manitowoc into the northern peninsula of Michigan), is remarkable for a number of its provisions, not the least of which is that on rates: "And said company shall transport merchandise, property, and persons upon said Road without partiality or favor, and with all practicable dispatch, under a penalty for each violation of this provision of one hundred dollars." Here we have the first attempt — conscious or unconscious — of the legislature of Wisconsin to prevent discriminations; this was at a time when the total railroad mileage of the State was 89.27. The transportation of marines, soldiers, sailors, officers of the United States army, ordnance, military stores, munitions of war, United States mail, etc., were excepted from the provisions of this section.

This same charter provides for an annual report to the legislature. The provisions governing this report are much more definite and comprehensive than those of any other charter granted during the period under consideration. On or before a fixed date, the board of directors shall submit to the legislature a report embracing the business of the preceding year, and stating the total length of the road, cost of construction and operation, indebtedness for current work, capital stock actually paid in and subscribed, loans, dividends, receipts from freight and from passenger service, number of through and of way passengers, expenditures for repairs, operation, etc., number of cars and engines, number of men employed, train-miles, etc. The other charters which contain restrictive clauses on rates, either state that the legislature may demand a report at

any time, or they fix a date on or before which the board of directors shall submit such a report. The nature and contents of this report, are simply hinted at in the most general way. Charters which contain no restrictive provisions on rates, generally call for a report of the board of directors to the stockholders at the annual meeting, while a considerable number contain no such mandatory provision.

Only one charter expressly makes the individual stockholder liable for the debts of the company, to the amount of the stock held by him. A considerable number of charters declare the stock to be personal property, and then provide, in a separate section, that "the property of every individual invested in the corporation, shall be liable to be taken in execution for the payment of his or her debts, in such manner as is, or may be provided by law; provided, that all debts due the company shall first be paid." This, of course, applies to individual and not to corporate debts. Corporate debts are not specifically provided for in the charters. A little more than a fourth of the charters make the stock subject to execution for private debts, like other personal property; while about three-fourths of them are silent on that point. One of the companies whose charter contained this provision on the liability of stock, later secured an amendment repealing it, so that the stock could no longer be executed for private debts. To what extent the general laws on corporations affected stockholders, will be discussed subsequently.

Not until February 21, 1851, was the charter granted which empowered the company to borrow money. It is quite probable that this provision was incorporated in the charter because of the experience of the Milwaukee & Waukesha (later the Milwaukee & Mississippi, and now the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul) R. R. Co., whose charter granted February 11, 1847, did not grant this power, but who secured an amendment, February 11, 1851, by which that company was authorized to borrow money "for any rate of interest which may be agreed upon by and between

said company, and any person or party of whom such may be obtained, and make and execute in their name all necessary writings, notes, bonds, or other papers, and make, execute and deliver such securities in amount and kind as may be deemed expedient by said corporation, *any law on the subject of usury in this state or any other state where such transactions may be made to the contrary notwithstanding.*" This amendment was incorporated verbatim in the charters granted during 1851 and 1852, excepting, of course, the few that were silent on this matter; and several of these secured a grant of the power to borrow money by amendment. By the beginning of 1853, our legislators had become less imperious, and confined their attention only to the usury laws of this state,— while in one case, the usury laws are not mentioned at all. Another charter, like the rest, grants unlimited power to borrow money, but restricts the maximum annual rate of interest to 12 per cent.

In a large majority of charters a separate section provides that "this act shall be favorably construed to effect the purposes thereby intended, and the same is hereby declared to be a public act, and copies thereof printed by authority of the territory or state, shall be received as evidence thereof."[1]

With this, we have exhausted the more general features of the charters. It remains for us to notice those provisions which occur in only a few, or in but one charter, of this period. Foremost among these stands a clause prohibiting banking: "Nothing herein contained shall be construed as in any way giving to the said company any banking privileges whatever, or any other liberties, privileges or franchises but such as may be necessary or incident to the making and maintaining of said railroad." This occurs in a charter granted early in 1847. Not until we reach that extraordinary charter of 1853, to which reference has repeatedly been made, does a similar provision appear. In the latter, the prohibition is wider in scope: "Nothing

[1] Such a provision does not make the charter containing it, a public act.

contained in this act shall extend or be construed to authorize the said company to carry on the business of banking, brokerage, dealing in produce or other business, except what properly belongs to a railroad and transportation company, as in this act provided." The history of the Wisconsin Marine & Fire Insurance Company furnishes an explanation of the incorporation of anti-banking clauses in several railroad charters. Section 2 of the charter of the insurance company, authorized the company to receive deposits and to make loans under certain conditions prescribed in the charter, "or other satisfactory security," and to employ its capital in various ways specified in the charter or "in any other monied transactions or operations for the sole benefit of the company."[1] Although the concluding sentence of this section expressly prohibited banking, the company issued bills in small sums, varying from $1 to $5, under guise of certificates of deposit. The crisis came in 1846, when a bill was introduced in the legislature repealing the charter of the company. This bill involves constitutional and legal questions which, although extremely interesting, can not be discussed here. The opposition to the insurance company was based largely on constitutional grounds, but there were also those who feared that the company would not redeem its bills. The excitement was great, and when Alexander Mitchell, the secretary of the company, sent a communication to the legislature, attempting to explain matters, and offering "to give any further personal security the legislature might see fit to exact in order to secure their issues," a motion to return the communication to him was lost by a majority of but two votes, the house refusing "to show any such small spite."[2] With these extraordinary scenes fresh

[1] The charter of the company is found in the *Laws of Wis.*, 1839, p. 64 ff—the last half of section 2 containing the disputed provision. See also newspapers, especially *Sentinel*, from about January 15 to March 1, 1846; Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 491; and *House Journal, Wis. Legis.*, 1839, index.

[2] *Sentinel*, January 27, 1846.

in mind, it was not strange that our legislators should have attempted to prohibit the exercise of similar powers by the railroad corporations. But the question at once arises, why was it that only one charter contained such a prohibitory clause, and that a charter representing Milwaukee interests, granted within ten days of the other, should not even mention the subject of banking? The question raised another storm, though less severe, in 1851, when it was alleged that the Rock River Valley Union R. R. Co. had already ordered plates for printing bills, and that certain amendments secured by railroad companies to their charters granted banking privileges.[1] So far as I know, no railroad company ever succeeded in imitating the example of the Wisconsin Marine & Fire Insurance Company.

Seven charters contain provisions for the use of the railroad (track) by different transporters. Five of these authorize any person "using suitable and proper carriages" to use the railroad on payment of the legal toll; and in one case, as was stated above, a maximum rate for such use was prescribed by the charter. The oft-quoted charter of 1853 says that it shall not be lawful for any person to transmit goods or passengers over that road, without the permission or license of the company; while a charter of 1852 provides for the reciprocal use of the railroads, cars, engines, etc., by the road chartered by that act, and all other roads with which it connects. Each is to allow trains of the other to travel over its tracks on terms agreed upon by the officers of the respective companies; and in case of a disagreement as to the terms of such reciprocal use, either party may appeal to the judge of the supreme court, who shall appoint commissioners under whose direction proper terms shall be arranged.[2]

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[1] *Sentinel*, July 17 and August 21, 1851, editorials and quotations.

[2] We should notice in this connection that these charters provide, not for railroads with locomotives as we know them, but are concerned simply with *rail* roads as distinguished from turnpikes, macadams, or plankroads. What we term a "street car" (tramway) would be a railroad within the meaning of all these charters. They expressely state that the

We have already seen how the charters vary as to the right of making connections. One charter authorizes the supreme court, on the appeal of the company, to appoint three commissioners who shall arrange the terms on which that company may connect with any other railroad, in case the latter should refuse to permit such connection to be made. A charter of 1848 permits the company to build the road by sections. Several later charters contain the same provision, while others embody it by amendment. A charter of 1839 reserves to the Territory, or future State, the power to purchase the road at any time, on payment of the full cost of construction and equipment, including 7 per cent on the total outlay. That same charter contains the provision that in case of the refusal of any newspaper to publish certain prescribed notices, such notices shall be given by "affixing the same to the door of the court house of said county." This would indicate a peculiar relation existing between the contemporary press and these railroad projects. Beginning with 1848, an occasional charter demands an estimate of the cost of construction of each mile separately. In several instances, this clause was repealed by subsequent amendments. A few of the earlier, and most of the later, charters require the company to build a fence on both sides of the track, while in a number of cases this duty is imposed by amendment. One of the earlier amendments (1850) prohibits the issuing of injunctions except on ten days' notice. In isolated cases, claims for wages of labor, and costs of material, shall be a lien on the property of the company. One charter gives claims for unpaid taxes the first, and individual claims the second lien on corporate property. And another charter — incorporating a company to build a road of minor significance — provides that the personal and real property of the company shall be taxed in like manner as is individual property. A

company shall have power "to transport, take and carry property and persons upon the same" (i. e., upon the "single or double track *rail* road"), "by the power and force of steam, *of animals, or of any mechanical or other power, or any combination of them.*"

charter of 1851 forbids the company to build the railroad "through any garden, orchard, or building without having first obtained the consent" of the owner. That is, if the owner objected to the railroad, he could force the company to build *around* his "garden, orchard, or building." Two years later, this clause was repealed by amendment. Only in isolated instances do the charters speak of depots, station-houses, etc.,— toll-houses, tolls, toll-regulations, being the words used instead. Having now seen what the charters contain and wherein they differ, we shall next notice what they do *not* contain.

3. *What the charters do not contain.*

A full discussion of the problems involved in this section, would lead us into a detailed analysis of our entire railroad history; no such attempt will be made. The railroad industry presents features peculiarly its own, and all that will be attempted here is to point out, in a general way, in what respects the charters do not meet the peculiar demands of that industry. At the time when railroad building was begun in Wisconsin, the subject had been before the public for twenty years, and the results of the experience of other countries, as well as of the older sections of our own country, were available to our legislators. Parliamentary debates and statesmanlike discussions on railroads, covering every phase of the entire field as it then existed, had been published in every great country of Europe. This section will indicate to what extent the legislators of Wisconsin did not avail themselves of this information, just as the previous sections have told us to what extent they did embody in their own legislation the provisions of the best legislation of other States.

In the first place, it would seem self-evident that the proposed railroads should serve public interests, and that objective proof should be offered to show that this would be the case. Reliable information as to the movement of persons and goods between the places and along the route of the projected roads, would be necessary for a proper

conception of the purely business point-of-view of the undertaking. Accurate technical information would be indispensable for even approximate estimates of costs, and for an intelligent decision on the practicability of the project. On these matters, the charters are silent. But not only must the financial interests of the company immediately involved be considered; the railroad already constructed or projected should weigh heavily in deliberations over new charters. A railroad powerfully affects existing conditions, and the good and evil effects of a new line should be carefully formulated. Prosperous existing roads may be crippled, and other sound industrial conditions severely shaken, by the indiscriminate granting of charters for new roads. The possible effect on all existing economic interests should be a powerful factor in deciding on the merits of new projects. I have been unable to find a record of even superficial deliberation along these lines, beyond isolated conjectures of frenzied enthusiasts and glib phrases of selfish designers. Now and then there is an echo of a voice of warning, but the charters contain not even a suggestion of the results of deliberation.

There are no great mountains in Wisconsin, nor have we extended morasses and wastes. The technical difficulties of railroading in Wisconsin are not serious. Yet, such as they are, every route has its technical problems, and no estimate of costs can be taken seriously unless these have been carefully determined for every rod of the way. And how can the amount of the capital stock authorized by the charter be anything but a mere guess, so long as our legislators have absolutely no means of knowing the expense involved in executing the project for which they fix the amount of stock in the charter?

We have seen that in a few charters an estimate of costs for each separate mile was called for, and that in one instance this provision was repealed. But granted that every charter had embodied the same provision, what would have been gained? Who was legally responsible for such an estimate? Just what should such an estimate include?

To whom should the report be sent, and what authority had power to accept or reject it? Who was to coerce the projectors into doing their duty in this respect, and who could legally interpose and prevent the execution of the project in case the estimates had not been properly made? We need but suggest these questions, in order to expose the utter inadequacy of charter provisions.

A few charters demanded a small payment on stock at the time of subscription. The great majority of them provided for a similar payment before the company could organize and enter into existence as a legal body. Who was there to enforce these provisions? Who could give assurance that every subscriber paid what was required of others,—especially when we find a certain group of men acting as commissioners in half a dozen or more projects involving a total outlay, in their execution, of many millions? And what security was ever given (or asked) by the incorporators, for the faithful performance of charter duties? And in case the road was ever built, upon whom could stockholders, not actively engaged in the construction, call for a reliable statement of the condition of the road when it was opened for traffic?

In a time when every other project "guarantees" 15 per cent annually, some provision should be made for the future. Prudent business management accumulates a reserve for reverses. Accidents may cause losses, and the elements may ruin tracks and equipments. Even without business reverses and destructive floods and storms, the rolling stock will wear out, and the superstructure as well as the road-bed need repairs. Without proper foresight, an unfortunate coincidence of several of these negative forces may embarrass or even disable a railroad. Then there is capital stock, and the bonds, which should gradually be paid off. Yet not a single charter provides for the accumulation of a renewal, building, reserve, amortization or sinking fund.

The subject of expropriation is, perhaps, more than any other, extensively considered in the charters. In another

place, we shall see in what manner the right was executed. The charters require the railroad company to put highways which they cross, in as good a condition as they had been before. Who had authority to decide on the condition of these highways, or what tribunal was authorized to hear complaints? A considerable number of charters do not reserve to the legislature the right to annul them in case of a violation of their provisions. And was it not argued, as in case of the Marine & Fire Insurance Company, that a charter containing no such reservation was a contract, and could not be repealed by the legislature? Then, what remedy was there for even the grossest violation of charter privileges?

Most of the charters authorize connections with other roads; but only a single charter names an authority which may force another railroad to permit a junction with a road desiring such connection. Was it possible, under these conditions, ever to operate the railroads as a system? Is not the idea of a system fundamental in every rational ordering of railway transportation?

We have seen, in the preceding section, what charter provisions were enacted on the subject of rates. To discuss what was not provided for, would involve everything that should have been provided for. The matter of railroad crossings, safety appliances, and other precautionary measures, regularity and uniformity of reports, and various other phases of railroading which have been so prominent for many years in the past, will not be discussed here. Enough has been given to illustrate the relation of legislative enactments to railroads, as they existed at that time, and to show that our early legislators did not greatly exert themselves in order to profit by the experience of others. They themselves might have encountered difficulties in attempting to explain why two charters, granted the same day, should have embodied such different, and often diverse, principles; or, why a company incorporated on Monday should have been entrusted with latitudinous powers, while a similar act on Saturday should have placed restrictions

on that same power, although it was to be exercised under identical conditions.

4. *Sources of the charters. Summary.*

Were we to take one charter granted by Massachusetts, another by New York, by Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Michigan, and Illinois, and cut all these up in such a way that each clipping should contain one charter provision; were we to put clippings containing like provisions into the same box, shake them up, and then, blindfolded, pick out one clipping from each box, the clipping thus held in the hand could easily be arranged in such a way as to compose a railroad charter which in all essentials would be similar to those granted during that period by the legislature of Wisconsin. Even though half-a-dozen or a dozen boxes had not been touched, the resulting charter might still be made quite as complete as a number of Wisconsin charters.

Were I to name the charters of any one State which served as a model for Wisconsin charters, I should specify Pennsylvania, although New York comes almost as near. One Wisconsin charter[1] is clearly modeled on the charter of the Pennsylvania railroad; or rather, I should say that it is a mutilated edition of that charter. Like most of the Wisconsin charters, the Pennsylvania and Maryland charters name a number of persons who act as commissioners, under whose direction a "body politic" is organized; while the charters of New York name, in the first section, a number of persons who are declared to be "a body politic," and in a subsequent section the commissioners are named. Vermont charters declare future stockholders a "body corporate." Both New York and Vermont forms appear in Wisconsin charters, but the Pennsylvania and Maryland form is much more general. In Illinois, both the New York and Pennsylvania forms appear, while the legislature of Indiana formed a precedent for Wisconsin in granting to her railroads the right of way through State (swamp) lands.

[1] Fond du Lac & Sheboygan.

The provision prohibiting banking, brokerage, dealing in produce, etc., had its counterpart in earlier Michigan and Illinois charters. We have seen that a large number of Wisconsin charters made it obligatory for appraisers to consider both the advantages and disadvantages accruing to owners. Similar provisions are found in the charters of Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, and some of those of Massachusetts, but not in those of New York.

The words "toll," "to regulate toll," occur in all the charters of other states which I have examined, as does the expression "to transport and carry property and persons upon the same, by the power and force of steam or animals, or of any mechanical power, or of any combination of such power and force," or equivalent expressions.[1] As we shall see later, the history of Wisconsin charters, like the history of the charters of her sister States, begins with the English canal legislation of the middle of the seventeenth century. But as early as 1840[2] English law restricted the use of the word railway so as to exclude tramways. "The word railway * * * shall be construed to extend to all railways constructed under the powers of any Act of Parliament, and intended for the conveyance of passengers in or upon carriages drawn or impelled by the power of steam or by any other mechanical power." Wisconsin charters follow the precedent set by the charters of at least a dozen States, in prescribing regulations for the use of the railroad by different transporters and in giving to the company the power to determine what kinds of carriages shall be used. This also is a contribution of English law, similar provisions having been embodied in the Liverpool & Manchester charter, and even in the Railways Clauses Act of 1845: "And upon payment of the tolls from time to time demandable all companies and persons shall be entitled to use the railway with engines and carriages prop-

[1] This, however, was more than fiction, for the earliest American railroads were operated by horses, mules, stationary engines, or by mere force of gravity.

[2] Railway Regulation Act, 1840, § 21.

erly constructed"—§ 92; "No carriage shall pass along or be upon the railway * * * unless such carriage be at all times, so long as it shall be used or shall remain on the railway, of the construction and in the condition which the regulations of the company for the time being shall require"—§ 117.[1] An early English work[2] contains a description of carriages "which are intended to be transferred from the Rail-way wheels to others capable of travelling on streets." In passing, we may notice that one of the strong arguments advanced in Germany against railroads was, that the railway coaches could not be used on the *chaussée* or vice versa.

Allowing each share one vote, seems to have been the general custom, although the one exception we have noticed in Wisconsin charters finds its counterpart in charters of South Carolina, which outline a system of voting according to the formula: Any person holding not less than x nor more than y shares, shall be entitled to z votes. Wisconsin charter clauses fixing maximum rates find their counterpart in charters of Maine, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts; those of Maine being worded more nearly like those of Wisconsin, than the others. In many of the charters of other States, I find legislative reservations authorizing the State to purchase the road, and to change or to alter rates. In New Hampshire, where general legislation was early enacted, a charter was granted[3] which reserved to the legislature the right to repeal the same "whenever in the opinion of the legislature the public good shall require it." Some Massachusetts charters forbid the building of competitive lines within a certain time. Provisions covering expropriation are similar in the different States. Vermont charters provide for the appointment of appraisers by any two judges of the supreme court. But these supreme judges were county officers, and

[1] Railways Clauses Act, of 1845.

[2] Wood's *Practical Treatise on Railroads* (Amer. ed., Phila., 1832), chap. iii.

[3] Laws of N. H., 1841, p. 582.

it seems probable, as we have already noticed (p. 271), that Wisconsin charters embodied like provisions without taking notice of the difference between the supreme court in Wisconsin and the court of that name in Vermont. Maine charters mention county commissioners; when Wisconsin charters designate the same officers, it is probable that similar differences were not noticed. At any rate, when, as is the case in several Wisconsin charters, a number of different authorities are named, any one of whom may perform the same function, it looks as though charter provisions of several other States had been consolidated to form a very loose provision in a Wisconsin charter; else, how could a charter assign duties to "county commissioners," when neither the constitution of Wisconsin nor the statutes provide for such officers. The great majority of Wisconsin charters are more definite; these exceptional cases, however, serve to illustrate legislative methods. Calling upon any justice of the peace to issue a warrant for the sheriff to summon a jury for the purpose of making appraisals, seems to have been a very general provision of charters of other States. This is the method adopted by the earliest Wisconsin charters; while almost all the later charters call upon the circuit judge to appoint appraisers.

It would be a tedious task to follow out this comparison in all its details. The "forms" of New York and Pennsylvania charters have been spoken of; but, after all, such "forms" exist only in a limited sense. On the whole, the charters of these States are much alike, and Wisconsin charters differ from those of either, largely in the omission of restrictive clauses, and in having been drawn up with apparent lack of care. Charters of States like Massachusetts and Maryland, show greater care in their construction, and are more restrictive. But the similarity existing among the charters of all the States, which I have examined, is so great as to indicate at a glance their common origin. They may have become mutilated and more loosely constructed in their march westward, but they never

lose the character of their English prototypes. It is toward these, that we will now turn our attention.

In order, in brief space, to indicate properly the connection between our own and the English charters, a series of parallel readings is here introduced. The first column contains extracts from the charter of the Liverpool & Manchester Rail Road, granted by parliament on May 5, 1826; and the second contains corresponding parts of Wisconsin railroad charters, the numbers in parentheses indicating the corresponding number of the charter, in the appended digest, from which the extract is taken:

1. Whereas the making and maintaining of a Railway * * * from or near the town of Liverpool * * * to the town of Manchester * * * will be of great Advantage to the Inhabitants of the said County, Towns, and Places * * * ; and * * * will be of great public Utility * * * And whereas the several Persons herein-after named are willing and desirous, at their own Costs and Charges, to make and maintain such a Railway or Tramroad and Branches; but the same can not be effected without the Aid and Authority of Parliament: May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted * * *

2. That the Most Noble George Granville Marquess of ——,——,——, * * * and all and every other Person or Persons, Body and Bodies Politic and Corporate, who shall hereafter become Subscribers to the said Undertaking, and their several and respective Successors, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, shall be and hereby are united into a Company for making, completing, and maintaining the said Railway * * * and for that Purpose shall

1. Whereas, it hath been represented by ——, in his memorial to the legislature, that a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia would greatly facilitate the transport between those two places, suggesting also that he hath made important improvements in the construction of rail ways; and praying that in order to carry such beneficial purposes into effect himself and his associates may be * * * [Acts of the General Assembly of Penn., 1822–23, chap. 5407, passed March 31, 1823. Book no. xix, p. 353.]

2. That James M. Kane,——, * * * together with * * * such other persons, as may hereafter become associated with them in the manner hereafter prescribed, their successors and assigns, be and they are hereby created a body corporate, by the name of the "Pekatonica and Mississippi Rail Road Company," and by that name shall be, and are hereby made capable in law to purchase, hold and enjoy and retain to them and their successors, lands,

be one Body Corporate, by the Name and Style of "The Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company," and by that Name shall and may sue and be sued; and the said Company shall have Power and Authority, from and after the passing of this Act, and at all Times thereafter, to purchase and hold Lands and Hereditaments to them and their Successors and Assigns, for the Use of the said Undertaking and Works, and also to sell and dispose of the said Lands and Hereditaments again, in manner by this act Directed, without incurring any of the Penalties or Forfeitures of the Statute of Mortmain.

tenements, and hereditaments so far as may be necessary for the purpose of said rail road, and the same to sell, grant, rent or in any manner dispose of, to contract and be contracted with, sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, and also to make, have and use a common seal, and the same to alter, break or renew at their pleasure * * * (4)

3. That for the Purposes of this Act the said Company, their Deputies, Servants, Agents, Surveyors, and Workmen, shall be and they are hereby authorized and empowered to enter into and upon the Lands and Grounds of any Body Politic, Corporate, or Collegiate whatsoever, according to the Provisions and Directions of this Act, and to survey and take Levels of the same or any Part thereof;

3. It shall be lawful for said company, their officers, engineers, and agents, to enter upon any land for the purpose of exploring, surveying, and locating the route of said railroad, doing thereto no unnecessary damage * * * (28)

4. That the Lands and Grounds to be taken or used for the Purposes of this Act shall not exceed Twenty-two Yards in Breadth, except * * *

4. It shall be lawful for them * * * to enter upon, take possession of, and use such lands, to the width of four rods (except * * *). (7)

5. Said Verdicts and Judgments * * * shall be kept by the Clerk of the Peace for the County in which the matter of Dispute shall have arisen, among the records of the Quarter Sessions for such County, and shall be deemed Records * * *

5. And shall return the same * * * to the clerk of the circuit court of the county in which they reside, and it shall be the duty of the said clerk to file the same. (32)

6. That in every Case where the Verdict * * * shall be given for

6. And if the amount so found for such claimant shall exceed the

a greater Sum than shall have been previously offered or tendered by the said Company * * * all the Costs * * * and Expence * * * shall be defrayed by the said Company.	amount (previously offered) then judgment shall be rendered against said company for costs. (7)
7. And be it further enacted, That this act shall be deemed and taken to be a Public Act, and shall be judicially taken notice of as such by all Judges, Justices, and others, without being specially pleaded.	7. This act shall be construed favorably to effect the purposes hereby intended, and the same is hereby declared to be a public act, and copies thereof printed by authority of the State of Wisconsin shall be received as evidence thereof. (22)

Numerous other striking resemblances might be traced. Limitations on the amount of land which the company can hold, and the manner of disposing of the same, purchasing land from incapacitated persons, voting by proxy, fixing time of meeting, and the number and powers of directors, responsibility of the railroad officials to the board of directors, the power of the general meeting of stockholders over the directors, limitations on the time and amount of calls on shares, completion of the road within a specified time,—provisions on all these subjects are also much alike. The Liverpool & Manchester charter allows each share, up to twenty, one vote, and an additional vote for every four shares above twenty. This was not common to Wisconsin charters, although the same principle is involved in South Carolina charters. Among the 200 sections of the Liverpool & Manchester charter, we find a number which indicate an imperfect knowledge of railroads, due to lack of experience. Thus it contains long and minute provisions for the use of the railroad by second parties. This, as we have seen, was retained in a number of Wisconsin charters. But one of the most extraordinary provisions was that which held the operators of trains responsible for closing gates built across the railroad track: "And be it further enacted, That all Persons opening any Gate set up across the said Railway or Tramroad shall, and he, she, and they is and are hereby required, as soon as he, she, or they, and

the Waggon or other Carriage under the Care of such Person or Persons, shall have passed through the same, to shut and fasten the said Gate; and every Person neglecting so to do shall forfeit and pay for every such Offence any Sum not exceeding Forty Shillings, to be levied and recovered as herein-after mentioned; and the Money arising by such Forfeiture or Forfeitures shall be applied in the manner following; that is to say, One Half Part thereof shall be paid to the Informer, and the Residue thereof to the Poor of the Township or Parish wherein such Offence shall be committed"— (sec. clxx). Curiosities of this kind could easily be multiplied. The Liverpool & Manchester charter prescribed rates and provided for their publication. It also provided for a contingencies and reserve fund. These provisions, unfortunately, slipped out of the great majority of charters granted by the Wisconsin legislature.

Wisconsin plank-road charters, also, do not essentially differ from the railroad charters. In fact, were we to take a typical plank-road or turnpike charter, and make several minor changes, such as raising the shares from $25 or $50 to $100, and substitute the word "railroad" for "plank-road," we would have a charter which in all essentials would be akin to the ordinary railroad charter.

We find, then, that Wisconsin charters do not differ much from charters of other states; and that all of them follow closely the structure of the first English charter, which in turn contained bodily many of the provisions of the English canal charters. The history of Wisconsin railroad charters thus has its origin in the English canal legislation, beginning with the middle of the eighteenth century; and canal acts, in turn, find their prototype in the turnpike acts of the seventeenth century. From the carefully-drawn, definite, and more restrictive English charters, and many of those of our Eastern states, Wisconsin charters show a gradual change towards unguarded, indefinite, and unrestrictive grants of power. The downfall of the custom of presenting memorials or petitions, or of embodying comprehensive preambles in charters, in which careful

estimates of competent persons were clearly presented, and the social and economic effects of the project often prudently outlined, was no doubt a potent cause of the reckless legislation which characterized our railroad history. Surveys and estimates, on the basis of which the proper amount of capital stock might have been fixed, were usually mere guesses; although guesses even, were not always demanded. To ask for a charter was to get it, provided the proper "methods" had been employed. In case of the Liverpool & Manchester charter, the battle in parliament was fought over the preamble, which set forth the necessity of the project, and analyzed in detail its probable effects. We abandoned the preamble, and thereafter never asked whether or not the charter sought would be a benefit or a curse. We never asked whether the subscribers of stock to a half-million-dollar enterprise had ever paid even a small part of their subscription; or, whether a "prominent stockholder" in a dozen different enterprises, involving perhaps millions of "capital stock," had enough property to pay his tailor. We were westerners, with a western spirit; under the garb of push and enterprise, which pretended primarily to develop our great resources, not only the genuine railroad builder but also the "manipulator" put in his work. A spirit of carelessness on the one hand, singular credulity on the other, and a dominant combination of unscrupulous exploiters seem together to have been responsible for that heterogeneous aggregation of statutory phrases which the legislature of Wisconsin granted under the title of railroad charters. That some of the railroads built and operated under these charters have become important economic agencies can not alter these conclusions. No one would belittle the great service which our railroads have performed in the past, and which, happily, they are performing more and more effectively as time goes on. But the economic effect of a railroad is one thing; the nature of its charter as originally granted, is quite another. And in this chapter the only aim has been to present a critical and comparative view of the charters themselves.

APPENDIX.

ANALYTICAL DIGEST OF EARLY WISCONSIN RAILROAD CHARTERS, 1836–53.

The material contained in this summary was originally prepared by the author for an analytical table of charters which, because of the peculiar typographical difficulties involved, is not reproduced here. Following the same order in each charter, number 1 stands for the date of the charter; 2, for the page reference to the Laws of Wisconsin; 3, number of commissioners; 4, number of members in the board of directors; 5, capital stock; 6, size of share; 7, number of shares required to organize; 8, payment on each share required at the time of subscription; 9, maximum "calls;" 10, length of notice for calls; 11, shareholders' votes; 12, when construction of railroad must begin; 13, when the construction must be completed; 14, termini; 15, provisions for junctions, branches, and extensions; 16, to whom disputes on expropriation are referred; 17, are advantages and disadvantages considered in the valuation of land; 18, amount of land the company may hold; 19, miles of railroad which must be completed before company may open traffic; 20, provisions on rates; 21, annual report made to whom; 22, who may use railroad; 23, liability of stockholders; 24, distribution of dividends; 25, power to borrow money; 26, is power to consolidate granted; 27, other characteristics; X denotes, in the charter, an absence of provision under the head enumerated:

1. *La Fontaine R. R. Co.* 1—1836, Dec. 3; 2—1836, 33; 3—3, called "directors;" 4—X; 5—$50,000; 6—50; 7—X; 8—X; 9—X; 10—30 days; 11—X; 12—July 4, 1837; 13—5 years; 14—Winnebago City and La Fontaine; 15—X; 16—X; 17—X; 18—X; 19—X; 20—legislature may limit at any time; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—company shall divide among stockholders; 25—X; 26—X.

2. *Du Buque & Belmont.* 1—1836, Dec. 7; 2—1836, 54; 3—9; 4—7; 5—$250,000; 6—100; 7—X; 8—X; 9—X; 10—30 days; 11—X; 12—X; 13—X; 14—Belmont and some point on the Mississippi River; 15—branch to Mineral Point and Dodgeville; 16—justice of the peace notifies the sheriff, who summons a jury of eighteen persons; 17—yes; 18—sufficient for construction; holding and speculating in other lands forbidden; 19—X; 20—six cents per passenger-mile, and fifteen cents per ton-mile; 21—to stockholders, annually, by board of directors; 22—X; 23—stock liable for payment of debts, provided all debts due the company have been paid; 24—like 1, but capital stock shall remain unimpaired; 25—X; 26—X.

3. *Root River.* 1—1838, Jan. 11; 2—1837-38, 197; 3—5; 4—X; 5—$25,000; 6—50; 7—X; 8—X; 9—X; 10—30 days; 11—X; 12—July 4, 1838, and by amendment to July 4, 1839; 13—5 years; 14—at or near Ball's mill on Root River to the rapids in the same; 15—X; 16—like 2, except that jury consists of five persons; 17—X; 18—like 2; 19—X; 20—legislature may limit at any time; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X; 27—there is a forfeiture clause in the time limit.

4. *Pekatonica & Mississippi.* 1—1839, March 6; 2—1838-39, 74; 3—8; 4—3; 5—$50,000; 6—100; 7—X; 8—5; 9—X; 10—30 days; 11—one vote per share; 12—3 years; 13—10 years; 14—from Mineral Point to some point on the Mississippi River in Grant county; 15—X; 16—arbritration; each party names one arbitrator; these name a third; the three together decide; may appeal to court from decision of arbitrators; 17—yes; 18—100 feet; 19—X; 20—passengers three cents per mile, freight five cents per ton-mile, and 1½ cents per ton-mile when other parties use the track; 21—legislature may demand a report at any time; 22—any person using suitable and proper carriages and paying the legal toll; 23—X; 24—everything; 25—X; 26—X; 27—if local newspapers refuse to publish notices, these shall be given by affixing the same to the door of the court house of said counties. The Territory or future State shall at any time have power to purchase said road on payment of full cost of construction and equipment, including 7 per cent. on total outlay.

5. *Michigan & Rock River.* 1—1840, Jan. 8; 2—1839-40, 12; 3—7; 4—7; 5—$100,000; 6—100; 7—X; 8—1; 9—X; 10—X; 11—one per share; 12—3 years; 13—10 years; 14—from Rock River at Illinois State line to some point on Lake Michigan in the town of Southport; 15—may build branches and junctions; 16—county commissioner, who appoints three appraisers; 17—X; 18—what may be necessary; 19—X; 20—X; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—X; 26—yes; 27—the word "depot" is used; previously, "toll-houses" had been used, and is also found in subsequent charters; company subject to the "Act Concerning

Corporations;" this charter shall be deemed a public act and construed beneficially for all purposes herein specified or intended.

6. *Sheboygan & Fond du Lac.* 1—1847, Jan. 25; 2—1847, 23; 3—7; 4—one president, twelve directors, and such other officers as may be necessary; 5—$900,000; 6—100; 7—5,000; 8—5; 9—any sum; 10—30 days, and 1 per cent. per month for delayed payments; 11—one vote per share up to five, then one vote additional for every five shares; 12—5 years; 13—15 years; 14—Sheboygan, Fond du Lac; 15—X; 16—judge of district court to appoint 3 commissioners; 17—yes; 18—not to exceed 80 feet in width; 19—10 miles; 20—left to company; legislature may alter or reduce tolls but not so as to bring profits of company below 12 per cent on investment; 21—shall report annually to legislature; 22—X; 23—X; 24—distribute twice a year; 10 per cent of dividends over and *above* ten per cent to be paid to the State; 25—X; 26—X; 27—an amendment (Feb. 11, page 180) gives company corporate power when 2,000 shares have been subscribed. It also gives company power to transport goods by power of steam, animals, etc., "provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed as in any way giving to the said company any banking privileges whatever, or any other liberties, privileges, or franchises but such as may be necessary or incident to the making and maintaining of said railroad."

7. *Lake Michigan & Mississippi.* 1—1847, Feb. 4; 2—1847, 72; 3—26; 4—9; 5—$1,500,000; 6—100; 7—10,000; 8—5; 9—$20; 10—60 days; 11—one per share; 12—3 years, and spend at least $50,000; 13—10 years; 14—some point on Lake Michigan south of town eight to a point on the Mississippi River in Grant county; 15—power to connect and operate with other roads; 16—district judge appoints 3 commissioners; an amendment of 1849 changes it to circuit judge; 17—yes; 18—4 rods and what is necessary for construction; 19—like 6; 20—like 6; 21—board of directors to stockholders *and* to legislature during January of each year; 22—X; 23—members of company individually liable for debts of company to amount of stock held by them; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X; 27—act to be construed like 5.

8. *Fond du Lac & Beaver Dam.* 1—1847, Feb. 10; 2—1847, 158; 3—13; 4—9; 5—$500,000; 6—50; 7—2,000; 8—5; 9—$20; 10—60 days; 11—one vote per share; 12—10 years; 13—15 years; 14—from some eligible point in Fond du Lac county to a like point in the town of Beaver Dam; 15—like 7; 16—like 7; 17—yes; 18—like 7; 19—like 6; 20—like 6; 21—annually to stockholders and to legislature; 22—X; 23—individually liable for debts of company to amount of stock held by them; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X; 27—construed like 5.

9. *Milwaukee & Waukesha* (Milwaukee & Mississippi after Feb. 1, 1850). 1—1847, Feb. 11; 2—1847, 194; 3—9; 4—9; 5—$100,000; 6—

100; 7—X; 8—5; 9—$20; 10—60 days; 11—one per share; 12—3 years and spend $20,000; 13—5 years; 14—Milwaukee, Prairieville; 15—like 7; 16—like 7, but amended July 6, 1853, to have chief justice appoint commissioners *annually;* 17—yes; 18—like 7; 19—like 6; 20—what company thinks reasonable; 21—annually to stockholders; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—X, but by amendment of Feb. 11, 1851, company empowered to borrow money "for any rate of interest * * * any law on the subject of usury in this State or any other State where such transactions may be made, to the contrary notwithstanding;" 26—X; 27—important amendments Feb. 1, 1850, and Feb. 11, 1851.

10. *Madison & Beloit* (Rock River Valley Union after Feb. 9, 1851). 1—1848, Aug. 19; 2—1848, 161; 3—14; 4—9, by amendment 15; 5—$350,000; 6—100; 7—300; 8—5; 9—25 per cent; 10—30 days; 11—one per share; 12—X; 13—X; 14—Beloit, Janesville, Madison; 15—amendment of March 11, 1851, gives power to extend and connect; 16—arbitration like 4; appeal to court of proper jurisdiction; amendment like 15; 17—no; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—board of directors fix; 21—X; 22—like 4; 23—X; 24—distribution of everything above 6 per cent net on capital stock; not more than 1 per cent shall remain undivided for more than 6 months; 25—X; 26—X; 27—shall cause an estimate of probable costs for each mile separately to be made. "For each mile separately," struck out by amendment of March 11, 1851.

11. *Beloit & Taycheedah.* 1—1848, Aug. 19; 2—1848, 166; 3—19; 4—12; 5—$800,000; 6—50; 7—2,000; 8—5; 9—10 per cent; 10—30 days; 11—one per share; 12—X; 13—X; 14—Beloit (intermediate points named), Taycheedah; 15—X; 16—like 10; 17—no; 18—100 ft.; 19—like 6; 20—like 6; 21—to legislature; 22—like 4; 23—X; 24—like 4; 25—X; 26—X; 27—shall cause an estimate to be made of the probable cost of each mile separately; subject to general laws on corporations.

12. *Shullsburg Branch.* 1—1850, Feb. 9; 2—1850, 151; 3—7; 4—9; 5—$100,000; 6—50; 7—400; 8—5; 9—25 per cent; 10—30 days; 11—one per share; 12—X; 13—X; 14—Shullsburg to a point in the Chicago & Galena R. R.; 15—branch north; 16—like 10; 17—no; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—like 4; 22—X; 23—like 10; 25—amendment March 11, 1851, to borrow money, and issue bonds not to exceed ¾ of the amount actually expended; 26—X.

13. *Madison, Waterford, & Kenosha.* 1—1850, Feb. 9; 2—1850, 151; 3—7; 4—9; 5—$800,000; 6—100; 7—500; 8—5; 9—25 per cent; 10—30 days; 11—one per share; 12—X; 13—X; 14—Kenosha to any R. R. in Rock county; 15—may extend south to State line; 16—like 4; 17—no; 18—100 ft; 19—X; 20—X; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X.

14. *Potosi & Dodgeville.* 1—1851, Feb. 10; 2—1851, 37; 3—16; 4—9; 5—$400,000; 6—100; 7—1,000; 8—5; 9—$20; 10—60 days; 11—one per share; 12—3 years; 13—X; 14—Potosi, Dodgeville; 15—connect with any R. R. within the limits of Grant and Iowa counties, also extend road; 16—circuit judge to appoint 3 commissioners; 17—yes; 18—5 rods; 19—like 6; 20—what company thinks reasonable; 21—to stockholders; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—amendment Feb. 28, 1852, power to borrow any sum, at any rate, give bonds; 26—X; 27—forfeiture clause; contradictory provisions on width of strip of land.

15. *Milwaukee & Fond du Lac.* 1—1851, Feb. 21; 2—1851, 72; 3—25; 4—13; 5—$800,000; 6—100; 7—500; 8—5; 9—$10; 10—30 days; 11—one per share; 12—3 years; 13—X; 14—Milwaukee, Iron Ridge, Fond du Lac; 15—extend termini and connect with any R. R. in Wisconsin; 16—circuit judge appoints 3 commissioners; appeal tried by jury; 17—yes; 18—5 rods; 19—5 miles; 20—like 14; 21—X; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—X.

16. *Madison & Swan Lake.* 1—1851, March 11; 2—1851, 172; 3—11; 4—9; 5—$500,000; 6—100; 7—300; 8—5; 9—$20; 10—60 days; 11—one per share; 12—5 years, and spend $2,000; 13—6 years; 14—defined; 15—connect and extend; 16—like 15; 17—yes; 18—like 14; 19—like 15; 20—like 14; 21—to stockholders; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X.

17. *Green Bay, Milwaukee, & Chicago.* 1—1851, March 13; 2—1851, 256; 3—20; 4—9; 5—$500,000; 6—100; 7—1,000; 8—5; 9—25 per cent; 10—30 days; 11—one per share; 12—X, but by amendment of March 4, 1852, 2 years; 13—10 years; 14—named; 15—amendment of March 4, 1852, connect and extend; 16—arbitration like 4; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—like 10; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—X; 27—estimates required.

18. *Milwaukee & Watertown.* 1—1851, March 11; 2—1851, 180; 3—19; 4—13; 5—$500,000; 6—100; 7—500; 8—5; 9—$10; 10—30 days; 11—same as above; 12—3 years; 13—X; 14—a specified branch; 15—extend and connect; 16—arbitration like 4; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—X; 27—company not allowed to build through an orchard, garden, etc.

19. *Fort Winnebago, Baraboo Valley, & Minnesota.* 1—1851, March 13; 2—1851, 261; 3—19; 4—13; 5—$1,000,000; 6—50; 7—500; 8—5; 9—$10; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—3 years; 13—X; 14—northern terminus not fixed; 15—connect; 16—like 15; 17—yes; 18—5 rods; 19—like 15; 20—like 14; 21—X; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—X.

20. *Manitowoc & Mississippi.* 1—1851, March 15; 2—1851, 373; 3—11; 4—9; 5—$1,500,000; 6—100; 7—2,000; 8—5; 9—$20; 10—60 days; 11—above; 12—3 years and spend $50,000; 13—10 years; 14—fixed; 15—connect; 16—like 15; 17—yes; 18—4 rods; 19—like 6; 20—like 14; 21—to stockholders; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X.

21. *Delavan.* 1—1851, March 17; 2—1851, 414; 3—15; 4—9; [5—$200,000; 6—50; 7—4,000; 8—5; 9—25 per cent; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—X; 13—X; 14—one fixed; 15—X; 16—arbitration like 4; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X.

22. *Beloit & Madison.* 1—1852, Feb. 18; 2—1852, 55; 3—20; 4—13; 5—$1,200,000; 6—50; 7—400; 8—5; 9—X; 10—X; 11—above; 12—X; 13—X; 14—fixed route; 15—connect; 16—like 15; 17—yes; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—distribute what exceeds 6 per cent of net profits on capital stock; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—yes.

23. *Sheboygan & Mississippi.* 1—1852, March 8; 2—1852, 154; 3—13; 4—13; 5—$3,000,000; 6—100; 7—300; 8—5; 9—$12; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—X; 13—15 years; 14—"to Mississippi river;" 15—refusal to allow connection, carried to supreme court who appoint a commission of three; 16—any judge of supreme court appoint 3 commissioners, appeal to circuit court and have jury trial; 17—X; 18—130 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—yes.

24. *Cascade & Lake Michigan.* 1—1852, March 23; 2—1852, 235; 3—one commissioner is named, who together with stockholders shall organize; 5—$25,000; 6—X; 7—X; 8—X; 9—X; 10—X; 11—X; 12—X; 13—10; 14—entire route definitely fixed; 15—X; 16—arbitration like 4; 17—X; 18—4 rods; 19—X; 20—X; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X; 27—personal and real property of company taxed like other property; labor claims first lien on property of company.

25. *Fond du Lac, Beaver Dam, Columbus, & Madison.* 1—1852, March 23; 2—1852, 254; 3—15; 4—13; 5—$1,000,000; 6—50; 7—400; 8—5; 9—$2.50; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—3 years; 13—X; 14—named; 15—connect; 16—arbitration like 4; 17—X; 18—4 rods; 19—X; 20—X; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—like 22; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—X.

26. *Madison & Prairie du Chien.* 1—1852, March 24; 2—1852, 272; 3—11; 4—9; 5—$500,000; 6—100; 7—1,000; 8—5; 9—$20; 10—60 days; 11—above; 12—5 years; 13—X; 14—named; 15—connect; 16—like 15; 17—yes; 18—5 rods; 19—like 6; 20—like 14; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—X; 26—X; 27—special grant of power to connect.

27. *Green Bay & Lake Superior.* 1—1852, March 24; 2—1852, 283; 3—9; 4—9; 5—$500,000; 6—50; 7—1,000; 8—5; 9—10 per cent; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—X; 13—X; 14—general; 15—X; 16—like 15; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—like 6; 20—like 6; 21—to stockholders and legislature; 22—like 4; 23—X; 24—like 4; 25—X; 26—X; 27—estimate required.

28. *La Crosse & Milwaukee.* 1—1852, April 2; 2—1852, 325; 3—17; 4—7; 5—$4,000,000; 6—100; 7—500; 8—5; 9 and 10—left to directors; 11—above; 12—3; 13—10; 14—named; 15—connect and build branches; the latter repealed on April 19, 1852; 16—judge of county court

or chairman of county board of supervisors appoint three arbitrators; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—like 15; 20—X; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—like 2, repealed April 19, 1852; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—power to purchase or lease other roads; special provision for a probable congressional land grant.

29. *Southern Wisconsin.* 1—1852, April 10; 2—1852, 363; 3—9; 4—9 to 15; 5—$1,500,000; 6—100; 7—700; 8—X; 9—$12; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—2; 13—X; 14—"to some point on Mississippi;" 15—connect; 16—like 23; 17—yes; 18—130 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—yes.

30. *Madison, Ft. Atkinson, & Whitewater.* 1—1852, April 14; 2—1852, 487; 3—18; 4—13; 5—$800,000; 6—50; 7—200; 8—5; 9—$2.50; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—3 years; 13—X; 14—named; 15—connect and "operate with other railroads;" 16—like 15; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—like 22; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—" to operate other railroads."

31. *Portage City, Stevens Point, & Wausau.* 1—1852, April 16; 2—1852, 553; 3—13; 4—9; 5—$1,000,000; 6—X; 7—100,000; 8—5; 9—25 per cent; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—X; 13—X; 14—named; 15—X; 16—arbitration like 4; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—X; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—X.

32. *Racine, Janesville, & Mississippi.* 1—1852, April 17; 2—1852, 591; 3—13; 4—13; 5—$3,000,000; 6—100; 7—300; 8—5; 9—$12; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—5 years; 13—10 years; 14—named; 15—connect; 16—like 23; 17—yes; 18—130 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—yes; amendment of March 19, 1853, authorizes company to build by sections.

33. *Mineral Point.* 1—1852, April 17; 2—1852, 624; 3—16; 4—9, amended to 5 to 15; 5—$500,000; 6—100; 7—1,000; 8—5; 9—$20; 10—60 days; 11—above; 12—3 years; 13—X; 14—general; 15—connect and operate with other railroads; 16—like 15; 17—X; 18—5 rods; 19—like 6; 20—like 14; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—X; 27—may increase stock.

34. *Northwestern.* 1—1852, April 17; 2—1852, 646; 3—5; 4—9 to 13; 5—$2,000,000; 6—100; 7—500; 8—X; 9—$12; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—10 years; 13—X; 14—general; 15—connect; 16—like 23; 17—yes; 18—130 ft.; 19—X; 20—X; 21—like 20; 22—reciprocal use of railroads, cars, engines, etc., each to use the R. R. of other; in case of disagreement as to terms, the supreme court appoints a commission who shall fix the terms of such reciprocal use; 23—X; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9 (?); 26—yes.

35. *Milwaukee & Horicon.* 1—1852, April 17; 2—1852, 675; 3—9; 4—7; 5—$800,000; 6—100; 7—500; 8—5; 9—$10; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—5 years; 13—15 years; 14—named; 15—connect and operate with others; extension specifically provided for; 16—like 15; 17—yes; 18—

5 rods; 19—like 15; 20—like 14; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—like amendment to 9; 26—implied (?).

36. *Watertown & Berlin.* 1—1853, Feb. 11; 2—1853, 21; 3—41; 4—fifteen to be chosen at first election, 7 to 20; 5—$1,000,000; 6—100; 7—100; 8—5 per cent; 9 and 10—left to board of directors; 11—above; 12—3 years; 13—10 years; 14—general; 15—connect and operate; 16—arbitration, special; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—like 15; 20—like 14; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—at any rate, "any law on the subject of usury in this State notwithstanding;" 26—X, may lease or purchase.

37. *Michigan & Wisconsin Transit.* 1—1853, Feb. 28; 2—1853, 60; 3—eighteen who at once form a body corporate; these elect nine directors; 5—$6,000,000 to $15,000,000; 6—100; 7—2,000; 8—5 per cent; 9—left to board of directors; never to exceed $100 per share; 10—30 days; 11—above; 12—X; 13—15 years; 14—general; 15—connect; 16—arbitration, special; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—X; 20—like 14; 21—to stockholders and legislature; 22—any person who gets license from company; 23—like personal property; 24—annual or semi-annual distribution; 25—any amount; 26—may connect themselves in business; 27—provisions on discrimination; banking, brokerage, and dealing in produce is prohibited; taxes, first lien; carry U. S. mail; elaborate report required.

38. *Kenosha & Beloit.* 1—1853, March 4; 2—1853, 121; 3—14; 4—13, and 7 to 15; 5—$100,000; 6—100; 7—400; 8—5; 9 and 10—left to directors; 11—above; 12—3 years and spend $25,000; 13—X; 14—named; 15—connect, purchase, lease; 16—like 36; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—like 15; 20—like 14; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—any sum, any rate; 26—yes; 27—by-laws not to be inconsistent with constitution of U. S. or of State.

39. *Wisconsin Central.* 1—1853, March 4; 2—1853, 131; 3—23; 4—like 38; 5—$1,000,000; 6—100; 7—200; 8—5; 9 and 10—left to directors; 11—above; 12—3; 13—10; 14—general; 15—connect, operate, lease, or purchase; 16—supreme or circuit judge appoints 3 commissioners; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—like 15; 20—like 14; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—X; 24—X; 25—like 38; 26—yes.

40. *Green Bay & Minnesota.* 1—1853, March 7; 2—1853, 147; 3—16; 4—13, and 5 to 15; 5—$4,000,000; 6—100; 7—1,000; 8—5; 9 and 10—like 39; 11—above; 12—3, and spend $25,000 in 10 years; 13—X; 14—general; 15—connect, operate, lease, purchase; 16—like 36; 17—X; 18—100 ft.; 19—like 15; 20—like 14; 21—like 20; 22—X; 23—like 2; 24—X; 25—like 36; 26—implied; 27—100 feet through State lands granted.

Other charters were analyzed, but this summary of the first forty is probably sufficient to illustrate the author's methods, and data upon which the second chapter is based.

THE CORNISH IN SOUTHWEST WISCONSIN.

BY LOUIS ALBERT COPELAND, B. L.

The material for this sketch of the Cornish in southwest Wisconsin has not been obtained, in any considerable extent, from books or newspapers. No article, written upon this subject, has been found. All the information here given — little as it is — has been obtained in conversation with pioneers[1] of the lead region, and by personal observation of the manners and customs of the Cornish settlers.

The Cornish are Celts, and come from Cornwall, the most southern and western county in England. When Anglo-Saxons invaded England, during the latter part of the fifth century, they drove the resident Celts into the mountainous regions of the west, into Wales and Cornwall; but it was not until the first part of the ninth century that the invaders were able to subdue them. Despite the fact that the Cornish have been under Anglo-Saxon rule over a thousand years, they have in a slight degree maintained a Celtic civilization. Ask a Cornishman in southwest Wisconsin — a "Cousin Jack," as he is pleased to style himself — where he is from, and he will invariably tell you, not "England," but "Cornwall." On the other hand, ask a man of Devonshire, Yorkshire, or any other part of England the same question, and he will say "England," not naming the county unless more closely questioned.

[1] I have been aided in this work by the following: Elijah C. Townsend and William Osborne, Shullsburg; Dr. John H. Vivian, Edward Prideaux, and Mrs. Davy, Mineral Point; Thomas James, Dodgeville; Thomas Jenkins, Platteville; John W. Taylor, Linden; Charles L. Harper, assistant State superintendent of schools, Madison; Gen. Thomas S. Allen, Oshkosh; the late James B. Brown, editor of the Galena *Gazette*, and the late George Verden, of Galena.

The physical nature of Cornwall determined the occupation of the people. A large part of the county is mountainous, and is surrounded on all sides but one by water. Almost all the people are engaged in mining, fishing, or farming; until recently, the miners have far outnumbered the other classes, but at present the agricultural class is gaining rapidly. Mining has declined; in some cases the mines have been worked out, and in others they have been worked so deep that it is not profitable to hoist the ore, although it is of a comparatively rich quality, and the machinery is the best of its kind. Thus many of the Cornish have been thrown out of employment and have sought work in other countries. Several thousand of them came to the upper Mississippi lead region[1] during its early development.

The earliest history and first occupation of the lead region are enshrouded in almost impenetrable obscurity. Probably the first white man to explore this region was Nicolas Perrot, the famous French fur trader, in 1690. In 1693, and in 1700, Le Sueur, commandant for the French at Chequamegon Bay, made extensive explorations in the district; in August, 1700, he discovered Galena (or Fever) River. Julien Dubuque, another Frenchman, settled in 1788 in the place where now stands the city that bears his name. "The first permanent settlement" by white men, on the east side of the Mississippi River, "of which any record or reliable knowledge remains, existed about 1820 on the banks of the river now known as the Galena,"[2] near the

[1] The boundary of the lead region in Wisconsin is given by Moses M. Strong, in his *History of Wisconsin Territory*, as follows: "In Wisconsin, the lead region may be said to be bounded on the north by the northern outcrop of Galena limestone, running parallel to the main water-shed from the Mississippi to Blue Mounds; on the west by the Mississippi river; on the south by the State line, and on the east by Sugar River. These limits include all the lead that has ever been productive, as well as much that has never proved so." For maps of the district, see Libby's "Helena Shot Tower," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 373; also, xi, p. 400.

[2] See *Hist. of Jo Daviess Co., Ill.* (Chicago, 1878), p. 227; also Thwaites's "Notes on Early Lead Mining," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 273 et seq.

site of the present city of Galena, Ill. Prior to 1820 this site was occupied by Indians, being a favorite fur-trading post. The roving traders came, sometimes built a rough cabin, staid a few months, and moved on.

Seymour, in his history of the Galena mines (published in 1848), says, on the authority of Jesse W. Shull, that previous to 1819 "the Sacs and Foxes had already killed several traders who had attempted to traffic among them." In 1819, Shull came to Fever River and erected a trading house where Galena now stands. He told Seymour that he and Dr. Samuel Muir were the first white settlers on the Fever. François Bouthillier was at the same point, later in the year. A. P. Van Metre located here, it is said, in 1820.[1] In 1821, several miners are known to have been for a time in this locality. During the same year, Thomas H. January and wife came and built a double log cabin; this is the first we hear of a white woman in the lead region. In 1822, James Johnson of Kentucky, with a party of white men and slaves, began mining near Galena. Strong[2] says that this was the first occupation of the lead mines by white men. From this date, at the latest, begins the real settlement of the region. In 1823, the Meeker colony, from Cincinnati, headed by Dr. Moses P. Meeker, arrived; there were in the party about thirty men, and several women and children. When Meeker came, he found less than a hundred white men in the settlement, but this number soon rapidly increased. Strong, in his estimates of the white population of the region, gives the following figures:

1822..... 20	1824..... 100	1826..... 1,000
1823..... 74	1825..... 200	1827..... 4,000
		1828.....10,000

Almost all the population of these earliest years was in the vicinity of Galena, which was the objective point of the early immigrants, being the natural entrance to the lead region, and as the largest settlement it afforded

[1] *Hist. of Jo Daviess Co.*, p. 236.

[2] *Hist. of Wis. Terr.*, p. 117.

more security against Indians. Soon the mines in the immediate vicinity of Galena were unable to meet the demands of the thousands of adventurers who were flocking to them. As a consequence, miners began to prospect in new fields. "Mines were soon opened at Hardscrabble, Council Hill, Vinegar Hill, East Fork, New Diggings, Buncombe, Gratiot's Grove, Shullsburg, Stump Grove, Wiota, Sinsinawa Mound, Platteville, Mineral Point, Dodgeville"[1] and many other points.

The first mines to be operated in southwest Wisconsin by permanent settlers, were opened in 1824 at New Diggings, in La Fayette county, and Hazel Green, in Grant county. "In 1824, Duke L. Smith, George Ferguson, James Morrison, and three or four others started out from Galena, found indications of ancient mining by Indians and French, and there beginning work discovered valuable mines which they named New Diggings."[2] "In 1824, Thomas McKnight, John Ewin, and several others made the first mining settlement at Hardscrabble (Hazel Green)."[3] During the succeeding three years, mines in every section of the Wisconsin lead region were opened.

Among the prominent settlers who came to the Wisconsin mines before the Cornish immigration set in, were Henry and J. P. B. Gratiot, of St. Louis, who opened mines on the edge of a grove about one mile south of the present Shullsburg. The settlement took the name of "Gratiot's Grove;" it was once a flourishing mining town, but there is now little trace of settlement there. Col. Samuel Scales — after whom Scales Mound, Ill., was named — came in 1825. Jesse W. Shull, after whom Shullsburg was named, settled in New Diggings in 1826; he was a trader in this section of the country before 1820. Col. Daniel M. Parkinson settled in the same place during the year. Col. William S. Hamilton, a son of Alexander Hamilton, settled in the eastern part of what is now La Fayette

[1] Strong, p. 118.

[2] *Hist. of La Fayette Co.*, p. 563.

[3] *Hist. of Grant Co.*, p. 478.

county, about this time; he build Hamilton's Fort during the Black Hawk War, and afterwards laid out and named the village of Wiota.

Almost all of the early inhabitants in the lead region, under the American regime, were natives of this country. There were two classes of miners; one came — especially from southern Illinois — during the spring, and returned down the south-flowing rivers in the fall; this class was nicknamed from the fish whose habits it imitated — "suckers." The other class, being largely from New England and New York State, were obliged to live in the region during the winter, in "dugouts" like badgers[1] — hence their nickname. The first foreigners to settle in the district, at least in considerable number, were the Cornish. In March, 1827, there arrived in Galena, Francis Clyma,[2]

[1] The manner in which the people of Illinois and Wisconsin derived their respective nicknames, is told in Thwaites's *Story of Wisconsin*, p. 205.

[2] "Francis Clyma was born in the parish of Perran Zabouloe, Cornwall, England, March 16, 1792, and died in Apple River, Ill., Sept. 12, 1874. He was married to Frances J. Maynard in 1815. He emigrated to America in 1819, leaving his family in England, and engaging in mining in Maryland. After a period of two years, his wife joined him in America, landing in Alexandria in 1821. In this year, Mr. Clyma was sent, by the company for whom he labored, to Orange Co., Va., to prospect for copper in the Blue Ridge mountains. Ore in paying quantities, not being found in this locality, the company moved their works to Fauquier Co., Va. This prospecting also proved a failure, and Mr. Clyma, with his family, now consisting of wife and four children, removed again to Maryland, settling near Baltimore. After a residence here of less than one year, he, with his family moved west of the mountains and settled in Berry's Lick, Butler Co., Ky., where he engaged in the manufacture of salt. In Dec., 1826, leaving his family in Ky., he crossed the Missisippi river into Missouri and began mining in the Valley mines. In the following March, he, in partnership with a Frenchman named Fuzone, were attracted to the lead region of the Northwest, arriving at the place now called Galena, about the middle of March, 1827, having made the journey from Rock Island on foot. After a few weeks prospecting, the party 'struck a lead' and Mr. Clyma returned to Kentucky for his family. They arrived at 'The Point' — now Galena — on July 28, 1827, in the midst of the excitement known as the Winnebago War. The lode opened by Mr. Clyma was on what is termed 'the Gratiot survey,' near Gratiot's Grove, whither Mr.

undoubtedly the first Cornishman to come to the Upper Mississippi lead region. He immediately began to prospect, and opened a mine near Shullsburg, Wis., about eighteen miles northeast of Galena. This was probably the first mining to be done in this section of the country by the class of people who did so much to develop the lead region. Soon, Clyma returned to Kentucky and brought his family with him. To Mrs. Clyma[1] undoubtedly belongs the distinction of being the first Cornishwoman in the region.

From 1827 to 1830, there is no record of any Cornishman immigrating hither. This is not entirely without explanation. Clyma was in America when the fame of the rich lead mines went abroad, and of course he heard of them long before the reports spread across the Atlantic, and reached the people in secluded Cornwall. If any Cornish came to the lead region during these three years, it is probable that they did not come direct from their native land, but were in America some years before. In 1830, there set in, direct from Cornwall, a stream of immigration that lasted over twenty years.

Several of the oldest citizens of Mineral Point agree that the first man buried in the old cemetery there, was a Cornishman named Josiah Thomas, but they cannot agree upon the date. The *History of Iowa Co.*[2] says that he was

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Clyma moved his family. In the following Sept., his family was moved into Ferguson's Fort, within the inclosure of which he built a house which he continued to occupy long after the fort had been dismantled. In 1831, he moved his family to the farm, he cleared and improved, and upon which he lived and labored until 1865, when he took up his residence in Apple River. He was in the frontier service during the Black Hawk War, serving as a Lieutenant. In 1845 he made a trip to Cuba, for the recuperation of his failing health. In 1850 he went to California, where he remained two years. He visited the land of his nativity twice, first in 1856 and again in 1870."—Galena *Gazette*, Sept. 17, 1876.

[1] Mrs. Frances T. Clyma was born in the parish of St. Ewe, Cornwall, July 16, 1798. She was married to Francis Clyma in 1815, came to America in 1821, and to the lead region in 1827. She died in Monticello, Wis., June 13, 1879.

[2] P. 724.

buried there in 1830, but places a query after the date, showing uncertainty. It is probable, however, that that date is a few years too early. In 1830, Edward James,[1] a Cornish miner, came to Mineral Point. He was the first, or among the first, of his people to come to the region, directly from the old country. In the same year, Joseph Rowe[2] came to Galena, and, like most of the Cornish immigrants, engaged in mining. In 1831, Joseph James,[3] accompanied by his family, came to Mineral Point. He was a brother of Edward, the immigrant of the year before, and had been induced to come hither by the glowing reports sent home by the latter. In 1832, Francis Vivian[4] arrived at Mineral

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[1] Edward James was born in Camborne parish, Cornwall, in 1804. He came to Mineral Point by way of Quebec, Cincinnati, and St. Louis in 1830. He was a brave, intellectual, but rather restless man. From 1830 to 1832, he engaged in mining near Mineral Point. In the latter year, he enlisted in the Black Hawk War, and was with Dodge in the battle of Bad Ax and in many other skirmishes. After the war, he and Dodge engaged in mining at Dodgeville. When the latter was commissioned the first governor of the Territory, in 1836, he appointed James as his private secretary, and on June 19, 1837, commissioned him as marshal of the Territory; James was the second person to hold that office, which he did until March 15, 1841. Soon after this he removed to Missouri, and is supposed to have died near St. Louis, about 1845.

[2] Joseph Rowe was born in Camborne parish. It is not known whether he came to the lead region directly from Cornwall, or not. He mined for some years near Galena, and then moved to a farm near Apple River, where he died in the 55th year of his age.

[3] Joseph James was born in Camborne parish, in 1802, and emigrated to America by way of Quebec, in 1831. His wife (née Maria Eva) came with him. He engaged in mining for some time, near Mineral Point, thence removed to Dodgeville, where he began to farm. He was in the Black Hawk War, being stationed at the fort in Mineral Point, and died of cholera in 1850.

[4] Francis Vivian was born in Camborne parish, Feb. 19, 1801. He came to Mineral Point by way of New Orleans, in 1832, and almost immediately after arriving, enlisted in the Black Hawk War. The war over, he engaged in mining, then became a smelter, and finally a store-keeper. In 1865, being elected county treasurer on the Republican ticket, he removed to Dodgeville, the county seat. He held this office for sixteen successive years. He died March 14, 1884, aged 83 years.

Point with his family. Matthew Edwards[1] and wife[2] were in the same party. Mark and Stephen Terrell[3] came to Dodgeville this year. In the *History of Iowa Co.*[4] we find the following: "Among those who came about this time (1832) was a colony of hale, hearty, strong-muscled and stronger-hearted Cornish pick and gad artists, composed in part of John Curthew, William Kendall, and William Bennett."[5] Gilbert Bennett[6] arrived in Dodgeville during the same year. In 1832, James Prideaux[7] and William Prideaux[8] also settled in Mineral Point and began to mine. Edward Prideaux, who came to Mineral Point in an early day, says that John Edwards, a Cornish miner, was in the Black Hawk War; if so, he must have come to the lead mines in 1832 or before. Several old settlers say that Abner Nichols, a Cornishman, was in the same war. In the *History of Iowa Co.*[9] we find "among those who came [to Mineral Point] previous to 1832 were * * * Abner Nichols, Edward James, Mark and Stephen Terrell."

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[1] Matthew Edwards was a native of Camborne parish. He came to Mineral Point in 1832, by way of New Orleans. Soon after arriving, he enlisted in the Black Hawk War, and died in 1864.

[2] Mrs. Matthew Edwards was also born in Camborne parish, March 17, 1807, and came with her husband to Mineral Point in 1832. She died at Beetown, Grant county, in 1892.

[3] They were brothers, being born in Camborne parish. Both were miners. Stephen served in the Black Hawk War, and died in 1835.

[4] P. 770.

[5] William Bennett was born in Camborne parish, and came directly to the lead region in 1832. He enlisted and served in the Black Hawk War. After this he engaged in mining and finally became a store-keeper, and died in 1882.

[6] Gilbert Bennett is a brother of William, and came with him to this country. He is still living (1896), in California.

[7] James Prideaux was born in Illogan parish, Cornwall, July 5, 1809. He settled in Mineral Point in 1832, served in the Black Hawk War, and afterwards engaged in mining. He died in Bloomington, Grant county, Nov. 2, 1886.

[8] William Prideaux was a cousin of James, and like him, came from Illogan parish to Mineral Point in 1832, served in the Black Hawk War, and engaged in mining.

[9] P. 658.

In 1833, Henry Eva[1] and family settled among the people of Dodgeville; he was accompanied by his nephew, John Eva Bartle.[2] Other Cornishmen who arrived during this year, were Michael Poad,[3] Thomas Phillips,[4] James Nancarrow.[5] William James[6] and James James,[7] two brothers, came to Mineral Point in the same year. They were brothers of Edward and Joseph James, who arrived in 1830 and 1831, respectively.

In 1834, we find among the names of the organizers of the Methodist Episcopal church at Mineral Point, William Phillips and wife, Andrew Rumphery, Mrs. S. Thomas, and James Nancarrow. These are all Cornish names. In

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[1] Henry Eva was born in 1808 in Camborne parish. He came to Dodgeville in 1833, by way of Quebec, St. Louis, and Galena. He engaged in mining and butchering for many years, and in 1850 went to San Francisco, where he died two years later.

[2] John Eva Bartle, a nephew of Henry Eva, was born in Camborne parish, 1822. He was too young while in his native land to learn to mine, and consequently did not do much of it here. He engaged in butchering, with his uncle. He made two trips to California, one in 1850, the other in 1855. On his second return to Dodgeville, he went into the furniture business, and died in that place in 1892.

[3] Michael Poad was born in Cornwall, Jan. 6, 1806. In 1832, he emigrated to Ohio, and in the following year came to Linden,—then called Peddler's Creek,—and worked in the mines. He built the first house in Linden in 1835.

[4] Thomas Phillips was born in Camborne parish, in 1799. He came to Mineral Point in 1833, and engaged in mining until his death, which occurred in 1859.

[5] The *History of Iowa Co.*, p. 660, says: "The first copper ore was discovered here as early as 1833 by William Kendall and James Nancarrow." Both were Cornishmen.

[6] William James was born in Camborne parish, in 1800. Soon after his arrival here he moved to Dodgeville, where he mined for many years, and died in 1855.

[7] James James, familiarly known as "Uncle Jimmie James," was born in Camborne parish, in 1798. For many years he was a blacksmith in Mineral Point, but in later life moved to Des Moines, where he died in 1892. Both James and William James had families when they arrived in this region.

the same year, John Tregaskis, James Glanville,[1] and Matthew Bishop[2] arrived in Mineral Point. John Bilkey[3] and a party of Cornishmen, consisting of William Fine, Joe Stephens, Stephen Lane, William Nichols, and Andrew Crowgy, came to Mineral Point by way of Quebec and Detroit, proceeding to the lead region from the latter city in a wagon. On their way up, they passed through the village of Chicago, which then consisted of a few scattering houses. Thomas Prisk[4] settled in Mineral Point during the spring of the same year.

The above no doubt comprise a large majority of the Cornish miners who — many of them with families — arrived in the Wisconsin lead region previous to 1835. Of course some came and have left no record accessible to the historian, but these must be few. It is probable that the number of Cornish in the region before 1835 was between 75 and 100. From this time forward, the number increased so rapidly that only a large history of the region could have space for their names. Each year brought more and more Cornish, all eager to work the rich mines. The Cornish immigration continued increasing until about the year 1850. In reading the biographies of Cornishmen in the county histories, and in questioning the immigrants themselves, we find very few Cornishmen who came after that year.

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[1] James Glanville was born in Cornwall, Sept. 8, 1808. He arrived in Mineral Point in July, 1834, and in 1836 removed to Linden, where he engaged in mining. He was town treasurer for 27 years.

[2] Matthew Bishop was born in Camborne parish in 1818. In 1833 he immigrated to Pottsville, Penn., and engaged in coal mining for a year. In 1834 he removed to Mineral Point, where he became a lead miner. He married Miss Mary Bilkey in 1838. Mr. Bishop differed from most Cornishmen in politics, being a Democrat. He died in 1872.

[3] John Bilkey was born in Camborne parish in 1810. In 1834 he settled in Mineral Point with a party of Cornishmen. In 1852 he went to California, but soon returned to Dodgeville and went to farming, dying there in 1893.

[4] Thomas Prisk was born in Cornwall, Sept., 1805. He emigrated to the United States in 1833, and came to the lead region in 1834. Prisk engaged in mining until the time of his death.

About this time the news of the discovery of gold in California reached Cornwall, and thenceforward the bulk of emigrants went thither; so we can safely say that Cornish immigration to the Wisconsin lead mines practically ceased in 1850.

Of the total number of Cornish who came to our lead region, we can now make only an estimate. It could not have been many thousand, as we can readily see by examining the following census reports of La Fayette, Grant, and Iowa counties, which include all the territory in Wisconsin occupied by these people:

1834	2,632	1842	11,000
1836	3,218	1846	26,000
1838	7,900	1847	29,000
1840	8,200	1850	37,000

The Cornish at no period exceeded in number a fifth of the total population of the district. Should we estimate their number in 1850 at that ratio, there would be about 7,000 of them, and there were more Cornish immigrants in the lead region then than before or since. It was just before the rush to California set in, which took away so many of Wisconsin's Cornish miners. To arrive at a closer estimate of the number of Cornish immigrants, let us examine the following census reports of the principal Cornish settlements, and make an estimate of the proportion of Cornishmen to the entire population:[1]

	Population.	Probable Cornish.
Mineral Point	2,110	1,100
Dodgeville	2,580	1,300
Hazel Green	1,840	950
Linden	950	750
Shullsburg	1,600	400
		4,500

[1] Regarding this estimated proportion of Cornish in the different settlements, there is little difference of opinion. Many of the oldest settlers in all these places have been interviewed, and they agree generally on the proportions here given, i. e., one-half of Dodgeville, Mineral Point, and Hazel Green, three-fourths of Linden, and one-fourth of Shullsburg.

In order to reach an estimate of the total Cornish immigration to Wisconsin, we must take into consideration such places as Platteville, Benton, Cornish Hollow, British Hollow, Jefferson, New Diggings, and a host of smaller places. Neither must the territory surrounding these mining centers be disregarded, for many Cornish had, before 1850, begun farming on a small scale. Including these, we can safely conclude that the Cornish immigrants numbered not less than 6,000. Some of the Cornish settled near Galena and in other mining settlements in northwest Illinois, such as Vinegar Hill, Council Hill, Scales Mound, Apple River, Warren, and Guilford. If we take into consideration the entire lead region, there is little doubt that there were 7,000 native-born Cornish here in 1850,— in other words, the total Cornish immigration to the Upper Mississippi lead region was about 7,000.[1]

To-day, the Cornish and their descendants constitute about a third of Mineral Point and Dodgeville, a little over a half of Linden and Hazel Green, a fourth of Shullsburg, and a small proportion of Platteville, Benton, and many smaller places. The following table shows the probable number of Cornish in 1890, in the principal Cornish settlements in southwest Wisconsin:

	Population.[2]	Probable Cornish.
Mineral Point	4,000	1,400
Linden	1,800	1,000
Hazel Green	2,000	1,100
Dodgeville	3,300	1,100
Shullsburg	1,800	400
		5,000

It will be seen that the proportion of the Cornish living in these settlements to-day is not as large as in 1850.

[1] These final figures are the sums of local estimates made by the best living authorities in the different localities. They are published merely to give a general idea of the extent of the Cornish immigration to the lead region. There are no statistics available, for a closer estimate.

[2] These are round numbers of the city and town population, as given in the U. S. census for 1890.

They have, in large numbers, taken to farming, and are so scattered that we can find some of them in every part of the lead region, and engaged in almost every line of industry. Taking these things into consideration, it is probable that the total number of pure-blooded Cornish in the lead region is, at the present time, about 10,000.

The question arises, why did the Cornish leave their ancestral homes for this wild and rough region? Was it because of the great advantages of the new country, or the disadvantages of the old, or both? Upon being questioned, most of the old immigrants now living said that they were induced to come by the glowing accounts of the mines that were sent home by some relatives or friends who had preceded them. Tracing this back a step further, we find that there were some Cornish in this country when the fame of the lead region went abroad. From these few, the news soon spread to Cornwall; thus the original colony rapidly increased. Their reason for leaving Cornwall and coming to Wisconsin was purely an economic one. The mines in the old land had begun to decline, they were ceasing to be good investments, consequently the wages of the operatives were low. The average wages in the mines was from $12 to $13 a month. The mine laborers thought they could do better in America.

The reports of these old Cornish immigrants regarding the stories of southwest Wisconsin, that were then current in Cornwall, are amusing. Lead ore was said to be so plentiful that it stuck out of the ground in different places, waiting for some one to mine it; the mines were rich, it is true, but the truth was exaggerated. Many of the Cornish confidently expected to get rich in a short time, and then return to Cornwall. They did not become wealthy, as they expected, but the conditions into which they had come were certainly better than those they had left.

The miner who, in the 30's, worked for wages in the Wisconsin lead region, was an exception. Nearly every one operated for himself; for this reason, it is diffcult to gather wage statistics covering those early times. A min-

er's wages during the 30's and 40's was about a dollar a day; most of the old miners now living agree on this rate. The *Miners' Journal*[1] of May 9, 1832, has the following statement: "Laborers receive from $15 to $20 per month and their board." When we take into consideration the high prices paid in the lead region at this time, we recognize that $15 per month and board is the equivalent of a dollar per diem. There are instances of men receiving higher wages than this. We read in a biographical sketch published in the *History of Iowa County* that "John Bilkey hired out to Stephen Terrell, in Mineral Point, in 1834, for $40 per month." The Cornish considered a dollar a day in America better than fifty cents a day in Cornwall. Of course the prices of necessities of life were much lower in England than here, nevertheless this difference was not equal to the international difference in wages. A comparison of prices between the particular sections of the two countries is difficult. Cornish statistics, if there were any at this time, cannot be obtained here. A list of articles has been submitted to several Cornish, who immigrated about 1840, with the request that they give the prices as they remember them. The variations in the answers have been slight.

Qualities of calico that cost from 8c to 10c in Cornwall, in 1840, could not then be purchased in Wisconsin for less than 15c a yard. A suit of clothes costing $15 in Cornwall, could not be bought here for less than $25. In July, 1827, the county commissioners' court of Jo Daviess county, Ill., fixed the standard charges of the hotels as follows: Lodging, 12½c per night, and each meal 37½c; in other words, $1.25 per day. The average charges of the hotels in Cornwall, in the 30's, was about 75c per day. The rates here given, were the cheapest in both places. All the old Cornish settlers state that they have bettered themselves financially, in Wisconsin. Wages here were twice those in the old country, but the prices of the necessities of life were not double those in England.

[1] Published at Galena, Ill.

The following table, although incomplete, shows that the immigrating Cornish were far better off, financially, in America:

	England.[1]		Wisconsin.[2]		
	Cornwall about 1840.	England in 1849.	1830.	1836.	1850.
Beef per lb	$ .12	$ .14	.....	$ .14–.15	.....
Butter per lb	.14	.30	.15–.20	.25–.31	.15–.20
Potatoes per bu	.12	.....	.37½	.50–.62	.....
Tea per lb	1.25	1.25	.....	.....	1.00
Sugar per lb	.12	.10½	.12–.13	.....	.05–.06
Flour per cwt.	10.00	8.00	9.00	8.00-9.00	3.50-4.00

Besides this financial reason, they preferred Wisconsin to Cornwall, because of its opportunity for ownership. No mine laborer in Cornwall owned his own mine; while in Wisconsin he did, or at least had an opportunity to do so. No capital was required to start a mine in the Wisconsin lead region, and if the miner paid rent it was simply a small proportion of the ore mined. This opportunity was a great attraction for the Cornish.

Most of the Cornish who immigrated to Wisconsin came from Camborne and its vicinity. Camborne is one of the largest towns in Cornwall, having a population in 1890 of 8,000. It is situated in the western half of the county, in the center of the best mining district. When we remember that all the Cornishmen who settled in Wisconsin were miners, we see why most of them should come from this particular district.

They came to Wisconsin by many different routes; the

[1] The first column gives the prices in Cornwall as recollected by the old Cornish settlers in Wisconsin. The second is taken from Brassey's *Work and Wages*. (N. Y., 1883.)

[2] The prices for 1830 are taken from the *Miners' Journal* of Jan. 9, of that year; this was the first newspaper published in Galena. The prices in the second column were taken from the Galena *Gazette and Advertizer*, of May 1, 1836; those in the third column, from the *Wis. Tribune* (Mineral Point) of Jan. 4, 1850.

two principal ports of embarkation were Penzance and Falmouth, on the southern coast of Cornwall. During the period 1830 to 1845, almost all of them came by way of St. Louis and Galena. They reached St. Louis in many different ways. Some landed at New Orleans, others at Philadelphia, New York, and Montreal. We find frequent mention in the newspapers of the time, of English coming to the Northwest; but as might be expected, none speak of the Cornish. Those who landed at New Orleans were few; they simply changed boats, and came up the river to Galena. Those who disembarked at New York reached St. Louis by two different routes. Some went up the Hudson River to Albany, then took the Erie Canal to Buffalo; thence they followed the route taken by those who landed at Montreal, i. e., through the Great Lakes to either Toledo or Cleveland, thence by canal to the Ohio River, and by that to St. Louis. Others who landed at New York took the railroad to Philadelphia, and thence the route followed by those who landed at that city; they went to Columbia, Pa., by railroad, thence to Hollidaysburg by canal, thence to Johnstown by the Portage railroad, thence by canal to Pittsburg, and down the Ohio River to St. Louis, thence to Galena. Arriving at Galena, they hired teams and were taken to their destination. After 1845, and possibly a few years before, the Cornishmen came mostly by way of Montreal, the St. Lawrence, and the Great Lakes, to Milwaukee, thence by team to the lead region.[1]

All the Cornish did not come even in the numerous ways mentioned, yet the exceptions are few. The voyage from Cornwall to America was slow; sometimes sailing vessels took over two months to cross the ocean. From the

[1] This date corresponds, in some degree, to the statements made in Libby's "Significance of the lead and shot trade in early Wisconsin History," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, where he states that the lead and shot of the region began to be hauled to Milwaukee as early as 1839, and that "we may fairly conclude from the evidence offered that by 1847 the overland lead trade to Milwaukee was well established." The opening of this less expensive and shorter way to the region, was soon known by the Cornish, and they took advantage of it.

point of landing, to Galena, the trip was comparatively rapid.

The question arises, why did most of the Cornish settle in Wisconsin, instead of staying near Galena? As previously stated, the principal mines at first were about Galena, but when the miners began to pour in, in great numbers, the district was found too small. Gradually, the circle of settlements about Galena enlarged, and in 1827 mines were opened at Dodgeville,[1] Mineral Point, and Linden,[2] which are near the northern boundary of the lead region. In 1830, when the Cornish began to come directly from Cornwall to Wisconsin, these miners were the best in the region. This is one reason, and probably the most important, why these three places became the principal Cornish settlements. Those who arrived first, of course sent reports back to Cornwall of the rich mines in the vicinity of these settlements; relatives and friends naturally followed their predecessors. Although a majority of the Cornish came hither, they soon scattered to the neighboring towns. Many of them settled in places where the mines had been opened a number of years, or where they knew there was a good prospect of getting "mineral."[3] Speaking generally, the Cornish were not adventurous outside of a mine. They would prospect in any vicinity in which good lead had been found, but would never go far from it. Almost all the new mining districts were opened up by the Americans, Cornish either following their lead or staying and working out the old mines. Hence we find Cornish in all the mining settlements, both old and new. Many of them settled in Hazel Green,[4] Platteville, Shullsburg, and smaller places, includ-

[1] Named in honor of Henry Dodge, the first Territorial governor of Wisconsin.

[2] First called Peddler's Creek, because the mines were discovered by Patrick O'Meara, the "Dodgeville Peddler."

[3] The word "mineral" is used in a special sense in the lead region, meaning lead ore or galena.

[4] First called "Hardscrabble." Capt. Charles McCoy gave the place its present name, from the density of hazel brush growing near there.

ing White Oak Springs, Black Leg, Gratiot's Grove, Twelve Mile House, Fawcet's Hollow, Cornish Hollow, British Hollow, Potosi,[1] Jefferson, Bull Branch, Coon Branch, Mifflin,[2] Benton,[3] and others. Some of these places exist now only in name.

To-day, the principal Cornish settlements are to be found within the district including the southwestern part of La Fayette county, the northwestern part of Jo Daviess county, Ill., the southeastern part of Grant county, and almost all the southern half of Iowa county — diminishing in the extreme eastern part. The settlement in the southeastern part of Grant extends far enough northward to connect with the settlements in the southern part of Iowa, thus making the two districts contiguous. In other words, they finally settled in those sections where the mines were richest and held out the longest; the district mentioned includes almost all of the mining region that is being worked at the present time. The following may give some idea of the distribution of the Cornish in the lead region, to-day, on the supposition that there are 10,000 in all:

Iowa Co.	5,000 or one-half.
Grant Co.	2,500 or one-fourth.
La Fayette Co.	1,000 or one-tenth.
Jo Daviess Co., Ill.	1,500 or about one-seventh

In the early 50's, a large proportion, possibly a half, of the Cornish miners left the Wisconsin lead region for the gold fields of California.[4] Mining operations were almost suspended, as is shown by the output of the mines at that period; stores were closed, and property deserted, in the wild rush for the new gold diggings. The population of the mining towns, and in fact of the whole mining district, decreased rapidly. It is said by those who were here at

[1] Known once as Snake Hollow.

[2] Formerly known as Black Jack.

[3] Named in honor of Thomas H. Benton, senator from Missouri.

[4] The *Hist. of Grant Co.*, p. 490, has the following: "It is estimated that two-thirds of the miners left for the gold fields."

the time, that the Cornish exodus fully equalled in proportion that of the other nationalities in the region. Of those who left, probably three-fourths returned, for most of them had left families here. The proportion of the other nationalities who returned, probably did not reach a half.

The manners and customs of the Cornish in Wisconsin are in some respects peculiar and interesting. Their occupation was, of course, mining. A few of them had been farmers in Cornwall, but turned to mining on arrival here. Land for farming purposes was at first regarded as almost worthless; no Cornishman thought of farming in Wisconsin.[1] It was customary for the men (usually two) to go out together with their picks and shovels, and begin to dig in what they considered a promising spot. This they called "prospecting." But as a rule the Americans discovered most of the mines, worked them down to the hard rock, and then abandoned them for easier fields. Some of the Cornish did likewise, but they gained their reputation as "hard-rock miners" from the fact that they generally stuck to the mine as long as the ore in it lasted; it made little difference to them whether there was hard or soft rock. Often they began their operations in mines abandoned by the early American prospectors.

The native Cornish miners have always been regarded as superior to the Americans. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*[2] says:

"The Cornish miners are an intelligent and independent body of men. They are in request in whatever part of the world mining operations are conducted; and it may be fairly asserted that the solution of every intricate problem in mining geology is generally assigned to a Cornish agent, and every task requiring skill, resource, and courage intrusted to a Cornishman." They recognize their superiority. Some of those who came in the 30's say that there was no real mining done by the Americans, before the Cornish came. As

[1] Many of the old Cornish miners say that they would not, in the 30's, have taken as a gift, a piece of land for farming purposes.

[2] Ninth edition, vi, p. 426.

soon as the rock became hard, the Americans deserted the mines for the surface diggings, seeking only the "float mineral."[1] The Cornish introduced into the district the safety fuse for blasting; before they came, there was little blasting done; the Americans were surface miners, and consequently had little use for it. The small amount of blasting that was done by them, was crudely done; a succession of quills or straws, filled with powder, led some distance back from the large pile of powder, and was lighted by means of a so-called slow match,[2] giving some time for the miners to get out of danger. The safety fuse was the invention of a Cornishman named Davis.[3] It was extensively used in Cornwall before the Cornish came here. One end of the fuse is placed on the blast; the other is lighted and burns slowly toward the blast, giving the miners ample time to get out of the mine. However simple this invention may seem, it was nevertheless a great advance in the process of blasting.

The Cornish are a religious people; almost every miner in the old country belonged to some church, nearly all of those coming to Wisconsin being Methodists. In Cornwall, practically all of the working classes, and probably half of the upper classes, belonged to some one of the several branches of this denomination; the Wesleyan Methodists[4] are there predominant. What Wesleyanism has done in Cornwall for the miners cannot be overestimated. When the Cornish came to Wisconsin, they were not long in beginning Methodist meetings. They united principally with

[1] Float mineral is a quality of lead ore found near the surface.

[2] A slow match was a piece of paper twisted into a hard roll, and thoroughly soaked in tallow.

[3] It is a small cord filled with combustible matter introduced during the process of manufacture.

[4] This was the church established by the Wesleys. There have been many secessions; prominent among these are the Primitive Methodists, who branched because they thought the Wesleyans were departing from the original. The Methodist Associationists branched on account of discipline. The Bryonites, or Bible Christians, originated in Cornwall, being the followers of a Cornishman named Bryon.

the Primitive Methodist and Methodist Episcopal churches, chiefly the latter, which is not found in Cornwall, it being an American organization. No Wesleyan churches were organized. In the organization of nearly every Methodist church in the region, we find a number of Cornish names, showing the active part these people took in church work. What is claimed in these parts to be the first Protestant congregation in Wisconsin,[1] was the Methodist Episcopal church of Mineral Point, organized in 1834. Among the organizers we find the names of the following Cornish: William Phillips and wife, Andrew Rumphery, Mrs. S. Thomas, and James Nancarrow. The leading Protestant churches in Dodgeville, Mineral Point, Platteville, Hazel Green, Linden, and Shullsburg are Methodist churches. The Cornish in Dodgeville, Mineral Point, Platteville, and Hazel Green are about evenly divided between the Primitive Methodist and Methodist Episcopal churches. Very few of the Cornish immigrants failed to belong to some church, and all but a few of their descendants have a religious turn of mind.

Besides being religious, the early Cornish were superstitious, nor have they entirely outgrown it. Several books have been written upon Cornish superstition. The giant is a favorite character in their folk lore. There are Cornish living in southwest Wisconsin, to-day, who tell of the houses where the giants once lived. No part of England is so rich as Cornwall in antiquities of the primeval period, and the Cornish look upon these huge relics with a superstitious aspect. Then, too, it is not uncommon to hear the old Cornish folk tell of someone being "pisky laaden," i. e., led astray by the pixies or fairies; anyone who loses his way, is declared to be "pisky laaden." The

[1] In Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay*, p. 239, we read that Christ Church parish (Protestant Episcopal), of Green Bay, was incorporated in 1829, and Rev. Richard F. Cadle called to the rectorship. In Davidson's *Unnamed Wisconsin*, p. 157, it is recorded that "The first organization of a Congregational church within the present limits of Wisconsin took place at La Pointe, 1833, August 20th, Tuesday."— Ed.

only remedy is to turn inside out any piece of clothing the person may happen to be wearing. It is therefore still a common question in Cornwall, when a person is seen with a stocking inside out: "Are 'ee pisky laaden, my dear?" Of course these superstitious ideas have to a large extent passed away in the lead region, but ancestral folk lore is still popular.

The Cornish were not an educated people. Education in Cornwall, before the time of the emigration to Wisconsin, was in a bad condition; there were no free schools in those days. To-day it is quite different there; free schools have been established, and education is compulsory for a certain period each year. About twenty-five per cent of the people in Cornwall are still unable to write,[1] though this is ten per cent less than in Wales. It has been estimated by Charles L. Harper,[2] assistant state superintendent of schools in Wisconsin, that seventy-five per cent of the Wisconsin immigrants from Cornwall were illiterate. Besides being without free schools, the children of Cornwall were compelled to begin work as soon as they were able. The families were large, wages low, and money scarce. It was a continual struggle for the necessities of life. Probably this fact, rendering it necessary to scheme, and seize upon every opportunity to get a living, made the Cornish sharp and shrewd, as they were, despite their illiteracy. Of whatever education they had, they made most excellent use. They were quick to learn, and used good judgment, except possibly in the case of sticking to the mines too long. But the Cornish of to-day are not inferior in education to any class in southwest Wisconsin, despite their ancestors' lack of education. The early Cornish took advantage of the first schools established in the lead region, and sent their children to them, as the Americans did.

The Cornish dialect clings to those who have lived in Cornwall, and in many cases to the generation that now oc-

[1] Reclus's *Earth and its Inhabitants*, vi, appendix.

[2] Mr. Harper was superintendent of schools in Grant county for thirteen years, and came into intimate contact with the Cornish.

cupies southwest Wisconsin. To strangers, the odd words that have been retained from their old language, and the peculiar pronunciation, are noticeable. This dialect is a remnant of the old Cornish tongue, which belongs to the British branch of Celtic languages — the Welsh, the Armoric, and the Cornish. The first two are still live languages, and spoken in Wales and Brittany respectively; the Cornish has ceased to be spoken. These languages were once the same, but geographical separation has brought about changes.[1] As a distinct language, the Cornish ceased to be spoken about the middle of the eighteenth century; though it is claimed that some persons living during the first part of the present century could converse fluently in that tongue.[2] That dialect that has sprung from this language differs from correct English not only in pronunciation and accent, but also in the use of a small number of words which have come from the old Celtic tongue. There was so little social intercourse carried on between the parishes in Cornwall, that a man's native place could be told by his accent, or peculiar pronunciation. When we remember that the parishes correspond to our townships in size, we get an idea of the social isolation of those days.

The dialect of the Cornish in the southwestern part of our State seems a curious mixture to one unaccustomed to it. A number of Cornish words and phrases are used; English words are cut short, and often two or more are run together; added to this, we hear the technical terms and phrases of a mining district. With these peculiarities, there is an accent fully as marked as that developed in Yorkshire or any other part of England. It is quite impossible for a stranger fully to understand a conversation carried on by typical Cornish miners, i. e., by miners who have changed little since emigrating from Cornwall. The number of Cornish words that have survived, and are in common use, is comparatively few; the peculiar expressions

[1] For a discussion of the whole matter, see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Celtic Languages."

[2] See article on Cornish language, in *Archæologia*, iii, p. 278.

are more numerous. The following are some Cornish words and expressions, and combinations of English words, still in use among the "thorough Cornish people" of the old lead region:

Art en, means "are not," and is used in such a sentence as, "Art en 'ee goin?" *'Ee*, is short for "thee."

As lev, is "as leave;" one often hears the expression, "I'd as lev do en as not."

The bal, is "the mine;" the *bal maidens* are those girls who are engaged about the mines; *balchrope*, is the rope hanging down in the mine.

A *crabit*, is a scarf.

Cligy, is candy.

En, as in French, means him or it.

Braav, means excellent or first class. On meeting each other, the Cornish generally say, "'Ow are 'ee?" or, "'Ow ist 'ee gettin' on, you?"—to which the answer is made, "braav and keenly."

Chack, is cheek.

Crib, is a lunch; "a bit o' crib" is a common expression among the miners; *croust* is another word meaning lunch.

Click-hand, means left hand.

Dussen 'ee? means "do you not?" The Cornish often say, "Dussen 'ee know better?" meaning, "don't you know better?"

Fuchin', is walking lazily or throwing away time, as, "W'at are 'ee doin', fuchin' away so much time?"

Forthy means forward, or bold; as, "'E's a forthy lad."

The Cornish say *houzen* for houses, and *kicklish* for tottering.

Nist, is used for near; as, "I wussen go nist they kicklish old houzen."

To "put 'ome the door,"[1] is to close it.

A *navvy* (pronounced *nevavy*), is a section-hand on the railroad. In England, laborers on "public works" are, as a rule, an ignorant lot of fellows, hence the origin of the Cornish expression, "as stupid as a navvy."

The *nuddick* is the back of one's neck.

Passon and *clark* are used for parson and clerk (the latter is pronounced *clark*, throughout England).

A *planshin* is a wooden floor; a miner's house without a planshin in the first story, was not an uncommon thing in Cornwall fifty years ago.

To *scat*, is to scatter about; to *stank* upon, is to step on or trample under foot; these words may be used in such a sentence as "Dussen 'ee go scat en 'pon the planshin; theest 'll stank 'pon en."

Show, is pronounced *shaw*.

To *touch pipe*, is to sit down to rest; the miners often say, "Come, let's touch pipe a bit,"—almost all the Cornish miners are smokers.

[1] Oo is here pronounced as in "moon."

Wor, is used for was.

Wessen 'ee?, means will you not? as, "Wessen 'ee do this?"

Wish, means sad or pitiful.

A *plump*, is a well.

"Iss," and "iss you," are always used for yes.

A *dish o' tay*, is a cup of tea.

A *kiddly-wink*, is a tavern where beer, ale, porter, and "temperance drinks" are kept, but no spirits.

A *passel of traad*, is a lot of good-for-nothing things.

Afore, is used for before.

To *clunk*, is to swallow.

The Cornish say, *gove* for gave, *'zackly* for exactly, *bould* for bold, and *gate* for great.

Cornwall, is pronounced *Carnwell*.

The terms "uncle" and "aunt," are applied very commonly to old and respected people.

A Cornishman addressing several of his intimate friends and countrymen, will make liberal use of the expression "my dears."

The Cornish call themselves *Cousin Jacks*.

The following is an extract from *Eight Cornish Temperance Tales*,[1] written in the Cornish dialect. Grumphery Penrose was a disagreeable man, and over-frequented the saloon, the "Jolly Fisherman."

"Wha's for denner, Kattern?" Grumphery asked one day, on returning from a visit to the "Jolly Fisherman."

"I've fitted a nice drap of pay soup for 'ee; I knaw you're fond of en," was Kattern's answer.

"Pay soup! Pay soup agaan! Why ted'n more 'n a day or two sense we had pay soup for denner. I weeant ate it."

"No sich thing, Grumphery; we eeant had pay soup for more 'n three weeks. What we had a-Saturday, was a drap of cheek of pork brath."

"Well, brath or soup, I doan't like um and I weeant ate um. Why don't 'ee meeake a paasty now and then, like other women?"

"Cud 'ee ate a bit of paasty, Grumphery? Then you can maake a denner, arter all. I've fitted a paasty for 'ee, to car' weth 'ee to-morrow, but you shall haven now."

"What have 'ee put in un?" said Grumphery.

"Aw a beautiful bit of pork, and some roatabega turmuts," was Kattern's reply.

"Pork and turmuts," growled her husband. "You do knaw I doan't like un; you are always beeakin' things I ceean't abear. I do believe you do it for the purpose."

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[1] Written by Rev. John Isabell, and published by Netherton and Worth, Truro, Cornwall, Eng. This company publishes many books and pamphlets written in the Cornish dialect.

"Well," said Kattern, "will 'ee have a cup of tay, and some curring caake? I ceeant offer 'ee nothin' else."

"No, I weean't. Ar 'ee goin' to starve me outright? Give me a baasin of pay soup."

The expressions and words given above, are but a few, only, of those common among the typical Cornish; they have merely been picked up at random. Cornish words still linger in the names of persons and places in Cornwall. There are many names that may be called distinctively Cornish. Scott says, in one of his novels:

"By Tre, Pol and Pen,
We know the Cornishmen."

This is amply illustrated in southwest Wisconsin by the scores of names beginning with these prefixes.

Besides these expressions and words there are a few so-called Cornish proverbs that are peculiar and interesting for their originality. Often one hears a Wisconsin Cornishman say, "Salt 's a pilchard." When we remember that the principal fishery in Cornwall is for pilchards, and that they are essentially a Cornish fish, we detect the origin of the expression. Another Cornish phrase is, "Cream 'pon pilchards." As cream is the height of luxury in Cornwall, while pilchards are common food and in use in every household, the expression means luxury heaped upon the commonplace. If an ordinary man affects too much,—dresses above his means, lives too high, or is vain,—he is likened to "cream 'pon pilchards." Another peculiar, but common, expression among the Cornish miners, is "'E do knaw tin," meaning he is wise. This arises from the fact that tin and iron ores are very much alike, when stamped or broken into small pieces; there is but slight difference in the color, and only the experienced miner can distinguish them by sight. The miners have a similar expression, though less used in this country: "'E do knaw prils from 'elvines." Prils are pieces of good ore, while the 'elvines are pieces of rock or waste; the expression is used with regard to a person who knows a good thing from a bad one.

Some one has said, in substance, that a nation can be judged by the food it prepares, or the table it sets. Judged by this criterion, the Cornish would not be found wanting. Not only do they prepare good food, but they have also a number of dishes peculiar to themselves. One of the most characteristic, is the triangular Cornish pastry.[1] Pasties are known in other parts of England, but the Cornish variety is *sui generis.*[2] The ordinary light pasties are known in Cornwall as pies. The Cornish pasty, as I have said, is triangular in shape; enclosed entirely by a paste, and baked without a dish. The Cornish have many kinds of pasty, but the *taty paasty* (potato pasty) is the most common. There are meat pasties, turnip pasties, apple pasties, and so on, reaching probably to a hundred. There is a legend in Cornwall, that the devil was never there. He came down from the "up country," to the river Tamer, which separates Devonshire from Cornwall; when he inquired of the Devonshire people what country was beyond the river, they told him not to go over there, or the Cornish would kill him and bake him in a pasty. It serves to illustrate the prominence of the pasty in the Cornish living, as viewed by their neighbors, the Devonshire folk. The popularity of the Cornish pasty is explained, when we remember that over a third of the Cornishmen are miners, who carry their meals to the mines with them; they desire something not only cheap and substantial, but easy to carry. Every miner takes his pasty to the mine in his blouse pocket, or "fob," as the Cornishman says. Pilchard and mackerel pies are also common in Cornwall; sweet pies and meat pies are often made in southwest Wisconsin. Cornish pies are not the American variety but much thicker, being baked in deep pans and without a bottom crust.

Saffron cake is one of the rather common articles of food in Cornwall, though deemed a luxury. This is the

[1] The old Cornishman never says *pasty*, but always *paasty*. In southwest Wisconsin the pronunciation has been corrupted into *pâsty*.

[2] Of late, they have been successfully introduced into some parts of Devonshire.— Halliwell's *Rambles in West Cornwall*, p. 40.

characteristic Cornish cake; our sweet cakes were practically unknown in Cornwall during the Cornish immigration to Wisconsin. Saffron cake is much like sweetened bread,[1] filled with candied lemon, raisins, and currants; it is both flavored and colored with the saffron. The cake has a yellowish color and a delicious flavor. Saffron was once raised in England, but is now imported from Spain, Italy, and France; almost all of it now shipped into London is sent on to Cornwall. It is the custom in southwest Wisconsin, among the Cornish, to bake large quantities of saffron cake every Christmas, and to exchange samples with neighbors and friends.

Another dish, once exclusively Cornish, is "scalded cream," or "clotted cream." At one time this was known as "Cornish cream," but is now often called "Devonshire cream." To-day it is largely used in the southern and middle counties of England, and is a considerable article of domestic commerce. It is made by bringing the milk to a boiling point; the cream on top becomes clotted, and is much richer than raw cream. The word cream, in Cornwall, means clotted cream,— or "scalded cream," as it is better known in southwest Wisconsin. This dish is a common one among the Cornish in the lead region, and is also relished by Americans. The Cornish pasty and saffron cake are also found in every Cornish household in the lead district. Besides these, there are a number of Cornish dishes, less common in our State, though still familiar in Cornwall, such as "heavy cake," "taty cake," "plum hoggan," "figgy hoggan," etc. The early Cornish immigrants say that a workingman's meal in Cornwall, at the time they left, consisted principally of pilchards, and potatoes boiled with the jackets on. One thing that the Cornish gained by coming to America was good fare— much better than that to which they were accustomed at home.

Every parish in Cornwall has, once a year, a parish feast. Then all these Cornish dishes come into play.

[1] To call saffron cake "saffron bread," is to almost insult a Cornish woman.

The origin of the feasts is not certain; probably they are the anniversaries of the dedications of the parish churches.

As already stated, many Cornish miners went directly from their native land to California, for a few years after 1850. Then, on the discovery of gold in Australia and the neighboring islands, a large proportion of emigrants from Cornwall went to these new fields. When the mines were opened in Colorado,[1] the Cornish flocked there. Of late years they have been going to the copper mines of Lake Superior, although there were many in that district in the 60's. Many of the head captains of the mines of Lake Superior to-day, are Cornish, and nearly all of the underground captains and workmen are of the same nationality. At the present time, a large number of Cornish miners are leaving Cornwall for the gold fields of Africa.

In southwest Wisconsin, since many of the mines have ceased to be worked, the Cornish have, like the Americans, turned into other occupations. Probably more have gone into farming than into any other line of business. While this is true, many more live in the villages than in the country. The mining that is carried on in the old Wisconsin lead region to-day, is for zinc ores mostly, and the Cornish do not take any prominent part in it.

The Cornish are not clannish. They originally settled in groups, principally because there were good mines there. The occupation they followed could not be found everywhere. It is said that it is hard to find a Cornishman outside of a mining district; there is much truth in this statement, for the miners form the principal class, indeed almost the only class of Cornish that emigrates. From the first the Cornish united with the Americans, in all mining operations. The Cornish of the second generation can seldom be detected from the ordinary Englishman, except by an occasional Cornish word. There is no special bond among

[1] There is a large settlement about Leadville. During the summer of 1895, a Cornish picnic was held there, which was attended by nearly 300 miners of that nationality.

the descendants of those Cornish who emigrated from Cornwall, nor are the Cornish here in close communication with the mother country. There are no national societies; and while many of the Cornish immigrants in their lifetime kept up a correspondence with Cornwall, the second generation has almost entirely dropped it, although an occasional Cornish newspaper is received in the region. The Cornish descendants are scattering, and have almost lost their identity as a race. They do not hesitate to marry with other nationalities, any more than other English would. Not many Cornish in the lead region to-day, were born in Cornwall. Nearly all of the original immigrants have died. The oldest Cornish settlers living in the region at the present time, came in 1837; even those who came in 1840 are scarce.

The Cornish in southwest Wisconsin are in fair circumstances, financially, although few or none became wealthy. No one has acquired a fortune out of the mines; if any one made money, it was reinvested until a large part was lost. The people in the lead region who have accumulated wealth, are those who bought the land in early days and held on to it. Great quantities of lead and zinc ores have been taken out, but the proceeds have been well distributed. No large companies have been formed in the region, to concentrate the profits. The Cornish have had their proportion of these profits; for, besides being good miners, they are very good judges of "prospects." Their first intention of coming to America, getting rich, and returning to Cornwall, was not realized; and though they did not get rich, they considered the conditions into which they had come, far better than those they had left.

Pauperism among the Cornish of Wisconsin is not above the average, and probably does not reach it, if poor-house statistics are any criterion. This is theoretically confirmed by the physique of the Cornish, and their industrious disposition. The poor-houses of La Fayette, Grant, and Iowa counties had the following proportion of Cornish inmates in 1895: La Fayette county, 4 out of a total of 26, or 15 per cent;

Iowa county, 3 out of a total of 16, or nearly 19 per cent; Grant county had no Cornish out of a total of thirty-one inmates. The total population of Grant, Iowa, and La Fayette counties in 1890 was 79,000. In these three counties there were, in 1895, 73 inmates of poor-houses, or, in other words, one inmate to each 1080 of population. On the other hand, there were seven Cornish inmates out of an estimated Cornish population of 9,000 in Wisconsin; in other words, there was one Cornish pauper to every 1,300 Cornish.

In Wisconsin, a large majority of the Cornish are Republicans, while the remainder are divided between the Prohibitionists and the Democrats. Just why so many are Republicans, is hard to say; possibly anti-slavery ideas, and the tariff on lead, had something to do in the matter. The Cornish are not party leaders; they do not become enthusiastic over practical politics. In the county and State elections, they have not had their proportion of candidates; possibly this was due in the past to their lack of education, but that is no reason to-day. Twelve Cornishmen have represented the lead district in the Wisconsin assembly, viz.: Joseph Bennett, John Toay, Richard Tregaskis, John H. Vivian, William E. Rowe, and John Gay, of Iowa county; George Broderick, Thomas Jenkins, George Stephens, Joseph Harris, John Casthew, and James Jeffery of Grant county. Three of these were Democrats, eight Republicans, and one Liberal.

While the Prohibition party is not strong in the southwestern part of the State, nevertheless many Cornishmen are in sympathy with its principles. The old Cornish settlers were almost all beer drinkers; Cornwall, during the early part of this century, was noted for its consumption of beer. It was the custom for the Cornish miners in Cornwall to spend their half-holiday — Saturday afternoon — in the "kiddly-wink," drinking beer and having a social time. When they came to Wisconsin, they left work, as usual, at Saturday noon, and spent the afternoon in the customary manner. The Cornish say they did this chiefly

for social reasons, for they certainly were not more addicted to drinking than the Americans; the principal difference lay in the fact that the Cornish drank beer, and the Americans whiskey. To-day, the situation is much changed; the Cornish are not the beer consumers they were fifty years ago. Further than this, some of them have become total abstainers; there are many such among the Cornish of the second generation — the proportion is very high. This statement is based upon the fact that the Good Templar lodges in Dodgeville, Mineral Point, and Hazel Green have an unusually large number of Cornish enrolled as members — many more than their proportion. This was also the case with the old Shullsburg lodge of that order.

The record of the Cornish in war, is not a bad one. There were not many Cornish in the lead region when the Black Hawk War broke out, but almost every one who was here served in that affair. To determine the record of the Cornish in the War of Secession, with any degree of exactness, is extremely difficult. We do not know the number of Cornish in the lead region at this time, neither can we distinguish the Cornish who enlisted, by merely reading over the roster. There seems to be a difference of opinion as to whether the Cornish furnished their proper proportion; it seems certain, however, that they did not furnish more than their share. Many of the Cornish had not, at that time, been here more than ten or fifteen years, and naturally they would not have the patriotism of the people who had been born and raised in the country. Nevertheless, we know that the southwestern part of the State had an excellent record in the war. Some of the counties furnished many more soldiers than required. One of the first companies formed in the State, upon the first call of President Lincoln, was formed in Mineral Point, where about a third of the population was Cornish; this was Company I, 2nd regiment of Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and familiarly known as the "Miners' Guard." Gen. Thomas S. Allen, now of Oshkosh, was its captain. In a letter dated May 13, 1896, he says: "As near as I

can tell after looking over the roster of Co. I, 2nd Wis. Vol. Infy., there were about thirty men whom I recognize as Cornishmen." In the whole company, officers and all, there were about ninety men; we see from this that the Cornish furnished fully their proportion in this early company. The first lieutenant of the company[1] was a Cornishman Shortly after this, another company was organized in Mineral Point — Company E, of the 11th regiment, known as the "Farmers' Guard." General Allen, speaking of this company, says that it "had twenty men of the same nationality." This is much more than the Cornish proportion of farmers in the neighborhood, at that time. Whether the same condition of affairs existed in all the Cornish settlements in the lead region, is difficult to ascertain. No Cornishman attained any position of great prominence during the war. Says General Allen: "Dr. J. H. Vivian was surgeon of one of our regiments, Ned Devlin and Thomas Priestly, all of Mineral Point, were captains in the 30th regiment. On the whole, the Cornish were as loyal as the Americans, and made good soldiers. The business men of the same nationality were mostly patriotic — and helped fill our ranks. Dodgeville, Linden, and Mineral Point were largely Cornish, and turned out many good soldiers."

Such, in a degree, is the history and condition of the Cornish in the southwestern part of our State. When we think of the typical Cornishman, — he who came over previous to 1850, — we think of that old Cornish miner who goes off to his work every morning with lunch in hand and pipe in mouth, seemingly happy and contented. We think of that old Cornish miner with a beard under his chin — a rather stout man, not very tall, and slightly stooped from the nature of his calling; a man who has had very little education, but is exceedingly shrewd and practical with what he has. We think of the man who is very quiet, kind-hearted, simple, and sympathetic in his actions, who stops his work every Saturday noon and spends the afternoon in greeting his fellow miners, smoking and in-

[1] Thomas Bishop.

dulging in his accustomed glass of beer. Then, on Sunday morning, he attires himself in his best, and attends every meeting held in the Methodist church during the day. And his wife — well, she is one of the most hospitable women one would care to meet; like her husband, simple, true, kind-hearted, and religous. Very probably she has been a "bal maiden" in Cornwall, but has found time to learn to cook well, and makes a little go a long way. She is always begging the callers to stay and have "a dish o' tay," and even then seems afraid that the guests will not eat enough of the scalded cream, saffron cake, pasty, or whatever happens to be upon the table. Thus these peculiar characters, agreeable not only among themselves but also to their neighbors, live a peaceful and contented life, day after day and year after year. But these typical Cornish characters are gradually disappearing, and soon the class that did so much in early days to develop the lead region, will live only in the remembrance of those who have seen them. Soon, history alone will record in kind words the acts and deeds of the Cornish in southwest Wisconsin.

THE ICELANDERS ON WASHINGTON ISLAND.

BY HARRY K. WHITE.

It is not generally known that Washington Island, which comprises the most northern town of Door county, is the home of about 115 Icelanders. The little group is well worthy of consideration, because so few Americans have come in contact with any of this nationality. William Wickmann[1] says that they are the first Icelanders known to have come here since the days of Leif Ericson. The census of 1860 gives ten natives of Iceland in the United States, but it is difficult to determine whether some of these were not born in Iceland while their parents were temporarily there. We can best understand the Icelanders of Wisconsin by a study of their ancestry, and the conditions under which they have developed.

When one speaks of Iceland, the name, and the fact that the island reaches north to the Arctic circle, at once suggest to our minds people living in small snow huts, clothing themselves in the skins of animals which they have killed and whose flesh they have eaten — unless we recall something of the history of the island, or remember that the gulf stream modifies the climate, especially of the southern portion, to a considerable degree.

The real colonization of Iceland dates back to the ninth

[1] William Wickmann, now a real-estate dealer in Chicago, is by birth a Dane. In 1864 he was sent to Iceland by the Danish government, and remained there several years. He then came to Milwaukee, and was instrumental in inaugurating the Icelandic immigration to America. It is to him that I am indebted for most of the facts concerning the early Icelandic immigration. His letter is filed with the Wisconsin Historical Society.

century (874). Many of the proud Norwegian chiefs refused to submit to the rule of King Harold Fair-hair, and they objected still more to obeying Harold's successor and exchanging paganism for Christianity. The majority of the wealthiest and most intelligent of these settled in Iceland. Christianity was soon introduced into that island, and the republic there founded (930) lasted until the thirteenth century. During this time, being undisturbed, they acquired a love of independence, an attachment to their homes and to the arts of peace, that the centuries of war and oppression which followed subdued but never annihilated. During this time, their literature was not forgotten, and their children were given a good education in the homes, if there were no schools. During the past century, as the Danes have gradually given back to them many of their old liberties, their love of learning has been given a new impetus, and they have, in a measure, returned to their old manner of life. But the severity of the climate, the difficulty of earning a livelihood, the fact that the long winters necessitate idleness during a large portion of the year, and the oppression of the Danish government, all have combined to crush out much of the enterprise and daring of their Norse ancestors, and to leave them an intelligent, active, frugal, simple, peace-loving people.

Iceland has little fertile land, as the entire interior consists of a plateau covered with rocks and lava beds. There are a few valleys extending toward the interior, back from the bays. Large portions of these valleys are covered with marshes which would be very productive if properly drained. Some of the remainder is sandy, and the rest is good grass land. Only about 215 acres are under cultivation, and they are planted with garden vegetables, such as cabbages, turnips, lettuce, and a few potatoes. The summers are too short to raise grain. The climate is gradually growing colder, owing to the increasing amount of drift-ice being brought from Greenland. Centuries ago, several varieties of grain were grown there. There are still traces of ancient forests, in the form of semi-carbon-

ized wood, which is occasionally used as fuel or for the manufacture of articles of furniture. The people do all their travelling on small, tough horses, well adapted to the country. Some of the farmers live almost 400 miles from a market. Once a year they pack their tallow, wool, and hides upon horses and go to market, where they exchange their produce for coffee, sugar, liquor, tobacco, salt, and perhaps a little flour; but the latter is a luxury very little indulged in, except by the relatively rich. An idea of how little flour is used, is shown by the fact that in 1855 they used one-half as many barrels of salt as of all kinds of grain.

The foregoing sketch of the condition of affairs in Iceland, plainly shows the reason why these people, with a somewhat high standard of life, should be willing to leave their homes and native land, to which they are so much attached, to make for themselves abiding places in the new world.

The first emigration of Icelanders was made through the influence of Guden Thorgoimsen, who received a thorough education in Denmark, and returned to Iceland to try to improve the condition of his people. He reorganized their schools, paying many of the teachers from his own means. But he soon began to realize how hopeless was his task. About 1870 (the exact dates are not at hand), he began a correspondence with William Wickmann, who has already been referred to; Wickmann was then living at Milwaukee. The result was, that about 1872 Thorgoimsen sent out four young men. Wickmann, knowing that an Icelander would feel more at home if he were close to a body of water where he could procure plenty of fish, and be somewhat remote from the bustle and noise that is characteristic of American life, decided to take these men to Washington Island. Within a year, quite a large number arrived. Wickmann taught them to cut timber and build houses, and furnished them with fish-nets, and provisions enough to last them until they could get some for themselves.

Many Danes had already settled on the island, but the two nationalities lived together on the best of terms. At first some of the Icelanders were disappointed, and, had they been able, would have returned. But before they had obtained the means to do so, they had adapted themselves to the changed conditions and grown contented. For some years they spent the greater part of the time in fishing; but, as fish began to get scarce, they fell to tilling the soil, cutting timber, and building vessels, of which sixteen are owned on the island. Several of these vessels are engaged in carrying away the lumber and shingles that are manufactured. At present, the Icelanders are quite thoroughly scattered over the island, and, although they form less than a sixth of the entire population, and readily adopt ideas and methods that are an improvement on their own, their influence is easily discernible.

In religion they are Lutherans, and appear not at all inclined to return to the Roman Catholic faith, which the Danes, on conquering Iceland, compelled them to abandon. Few of them are intensely religious, and there is a strong tendency to separate from the Lutheran denomination, for they seem to feel at home in any Protestant church. In Iceland, the state supports the churches, and the people are not able to subscribe much to religious work, even were they inclined to do so. Interested observers declare that it will take some time for them to get into the habit of giving liberally to the support of religious services. They have several churches on the island, but, as a rule, they are not well supported.

The language of these people is the old Norse, or old Norwegian, and is cited as the oldest living language of the Teutonic family.[1] The reason why no dialects have sprung up to change the language, is that, in Iceland, there have

[1] *Amer. Cyclopædia*, ix, p. 151. In Johnson's *Universal Cyclopædia* (1894), iv, p. 475, Dr. Rasmus B. Anderson, an acknowledged authority, says: "The Icelanders belong exclusively to the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic race, and their religion is the Evangelical Lutheran."

been neither church using a foreign language, social or industrial classes, nor distinct town life. There is so little difference in what the different families produce, that there is no exchange carried on except for imported goods.

The *Encylopœdia Britannica* (vol. xii, p. 619) states that "The Icelanders have long been famous for their education and learning, and it is no exaggeration to say that in no other country is such an amount of information found among the classes that occupy a similar position. A child of ten unable to read, is not to be found from one end of the island to the other. A peasant understanding several languages, is no rarity." Those living on Washington Island are no exception to this rule, except that the advantages of our public school system are so much greater than those of the schools of Iceland, that the children are going farther than their parents did. Teachers of their schools say that the Icelandic children learn more easily than the children of either the Danes, the Norwegians, the Swedes, the English, or the Irish. So far as I know, none of them have entered our higher institutions of learning, for their isolation tends to keep them ignorant of the advantages offered by these.

The people are sociable; but, so far as I can learn, they prefer quiet conversation, and games like chess and checkers, that require some thought, to exciting games, dancing, and the like. They are fond of singing hymns; Mr. Wickmann says that during his whole stay in Iceland, he never heard the people sing anything but these. A literary society furnishes entertainment to the people of the island.

While in Iceland they were neither indolent nor lacking in thrift, their opportunities were so limited that it seemed almost useless to try to better their condition; but with the inducements which their new conditions offer, they have become much more industrious, and will not long be inferior to the Americans in push and enterprise.

They are the most kind-hearted and hospitable people that one can meet, and are always ready to help any one

in need. Indeed, in Iceland, relief is granted so readily that there is an unusually large class dependent on public charity, who are really able to support themselves.

There are neither saloons nor lawyers on the island. The people are such peaceable citizens that a lawyer there would find little to do. Most of them drink liquor occasionally at their homes, but they will not allow a saloon in their midst.

It is not the intention of this sketch to convey the impression that the Icelanders are responsible for all the conditions that exist on Washington Island; but that, as a class, they stand on the side of morality, intelligence, law, peace, and justice.

Bishop Jön Bjarnason of Winnipeg, Manitoba,[1] has kindly furnished the following estimates of the number of Icelanders now in the New World, all of whom have immigrated since the four men whom Wickmann brought out. The largest settlement in America is in the Red River district, part being in Pembina county, North Dakota, and the remainder in Gimli ("Paradise") county, Manitoba, on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg; these settlements jointly contain six to eight thousand Icelanders. There are other settlements of considerable importance in Minnesota (near Marshall), in the northern part of Manitoba, in Ontario, and in Nova Scotia; and there is one in Brazil. The bishop does not give an estimate of the number of Icelanders, except in the first-named settlements; but, as each of the others named are of considerable importance, it seems that ten thousand is a low estimate of all the Icelanders who have immigrated to the New World in the last two decades. This is a large proportion to the entire population of Iceland, which by the census of 1888 was 69,224.

[1] He was formerly a clergyman in Reykjarik. In 1874–75, he was a professor in Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, and is now bishop of the Icelandic Lutheran Church, in Canada. For a time, he was engaged in literary collaboration with Dr. Rasmus B. Anderson, of Madison, Wis.

GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO WISCONSIN.

BY KATE EVEREST LEVI, PH. D.[1]

NORTHEASTERN GERMANY.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

In education, the northern provinces of Germany differ considerably. The percentages of illiterate recruits in 1882 and 1883, in these several provinces, were as follows: Mecklenburg Schwerin 0.56, Mecklenburg Strelitz 0, Pomerania 0.32, East Prussia 5.5, West Prussia 7.97, Posen 9.75.

Where the population is of German stock, or has been Germanized, as in Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and East Prussia, the inhabitants belong almost exclusively to the Lutheran faith. West Prussia and Posen were long dominated by Poland, and bear traces of that influence in both language and religion. West Prussia and Silesia are

[1] In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, we published a valuable paper on "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," by Kate Asaphine Everest (now Mrs. Kate Everest Levi). In *Trans. Wis. Acad. Sci., Arts and Letters*, viii, there is contained another article by the same author, entitled "Early Lutheran Immigration to Wisconsin." The present paper is a further study of German settlement in this State, with especial reference to the localities in Germany from which the several groups came. As the conditions under which this paper was prepared were identical with those of its predecessors, the reader is referred to the author's prefatory note, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 299. The statistics of population in Wisconsin, herein cited, are, unless otherwise noted, from the federal census of 1890.—Ed.

about equally divided between the German Protestant and Polish Catholic elements, while in Posen the latter prevails. As in other matters, the Baltic peoples are conservative in religion. While they exhibit a strong theological bias, and numerous shades of doctrine have sprung up among them, they are yet very loyal to the Lutheran church. It was here, as we shall see, that opposition to religious innovations led to persecution and emigration.

CHARACTERISTICS.

The North German, in contrast to the South German, is tall, slender, well-proportioned, light-complexioned, and has features not clearly outlined. Of this type, the mental characteristics are various.

"In the Mark beyond the Elbe, from the ground stock of the Low Saxon conquerors," says Treitschke,[1] "from emigrants of all German lands and from small fragments of the old Wendish settlers, a new German race has sprung up, hard and steadfast, steeled through hard labor on a scanty soil and through unremitting struggles with their neighbors, keen and independent after the manner of colonists, accustomed to look down on their Slavic neighbors, and as rugged and sharp (*schneidig*) as the good-humored, joking roughness of the low-German character permits." The result of this mixture of races in Brandenburg, is a most stirring, aggressive people, scarcely equalled in any portion of Germany.

The East Prussians, who are likewise composed of many different elements, possess to some extent the same progressive character.

Except the East Prussians, the Baltic peoples lack in aggressiveness. They are slow to adopt new ideas, cautious, but persevering. In the army the Pomeranian, who is a good type of this class, is regarded as one of the best of soldiers. His excellence does not consist in force of attack, but in extreme persistence. The Pomeranian possesses

[1] *Staaten Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit*, i, p. 25.

great seriousness, is sparing of words, clings steadfastly to old customs, and is zealous for his rights.[1] The Mecklenburgers are a strong, healthy race, homely, true-hearted, and not easily accessible to moral corruption.[2] Both of these peoples are among the best of farmers.

RELIGIOUS COLONIES.

As the Puritan colonies on the Atlantic shores were formed by immigrants in search of religious freedom, so the North German immigrants who came to Wisconsin in the years 1839 and 1843–45, left the "Fatherland" to escape persecution, and to establish communities in the New World where they might exercise their religion without restraint. The emigration that followed, was about the beginning of the emigration from North-eastern Germany, not only to Wisconsin but to America.

This religious persecution was due to a desire for union among Protestants. From the early years of the Reformation, there had existed in Germany two forms of the Protestant faith — the Lutheran, and Reformed or Calvinistic. The latter had its stronghold in South Germany, while Lutheranism was prevalent in the north. To the close of the seventeenth century, the lines between the two had been closely drawn; but from that time, modifications of dogmatic principles were gradually effected by means of Pietism and Rationalism. Doctrine became subordinate to "inner light" and to practical piety. The old antagonism became more and more incomprehensible to the new race. Rationalism was above dogmatic strife, and Pietism regarded the eternal love as the essence of Christianity. Hence the idea naturally arose that Protestantism might well return to its early unity. Among the advocates of this idea were Frederick I. and Frederick William I. of Prussia, who effected some minor changes. In this century, Schleiermacher became its spokesman, and Frederick

[1] Steinhard, *Deutschland und Sein Volk*, ii, p. 714.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 735.

William III. its propagator, though they differed materially as to the manner in which it was to be carried out.

The year 1817 marks the beginning of a new epoch in religious matters. In that year, Claus Harnes published his ninety-five theses against rationalistic apostasy; and in the same year, at the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, King Frederick William III. of Prussia proclaimed the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. The great point of difference between the two creeds lay in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; the Lutherans taught the real presence of Christ's body "in," "with," and "under" the bread and wine of the sacrament; the Calvinists made these symbolic of the real spiritual presence to believers only. Other points of difference related to the doctrine of predestination, which Luther had not taught in any strict sense; but the Reformed church laid great emphasis on moral character, and for that reason was more inclined to the idea of unity than the Lutherans, who emphasized doctrinal points.

To the king, who was of the Reformed faith, the union seemed most simple. "According to my opinion," he had said, "the communion strife is only an unfruitful theological subtlety, of no account in comparison with the fundamental faith of the Scriptures."[1] The fact that he was outside of the church to which the great majority of his people belonged, was a source of great regret to him. Though the act was performed by the king in the profound belief that he was called to do that work, yet his unfortunate belief in the sacred prerogative of kings, which led him to carry it out in a thoroughly absolute manner, was destined to call forth an opposition which ended in the partial failure of the attempt. The union was proclaimed without the consent of the churches; in 1822, a new *agende* was drawn up by Bishop Eylert and the court theologians, and in 1830 was rigidly enforced. Schleiermacher, the upholder and defender of the Union, was strongly opposed to the

[1] Treitschke, ii, p. 240.

agende, partly on account of its source, which was the royal will instead of the free choice of the church; partly on account of its contents, on the ground that they were antiquated and reactionary.

While the movement had many warm supporters, and was imitated by other German courts,—Baden, Nassau, and the Palatinate of the Rhine,—yet it was not heartily supported by the rationalistic element, and on the other hand aroused a new Lutheran consciousness. It was taken as an attempt to root out Lutheranism, which the revival of Germany's great past was more likely to restore. This was especially the case in those parts of Prussia where Lutheranism existed almost unmixed — where there was no sympathy with Reformed doctrines, and the union was not felt as a practical necessity. This was the case in North Germany — Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania.

For some years the opposition was confined to literary polemics,[1] but in 1830, when the new *agende* was enforced by cabinet orders, Prof. Scheibel of Breslau founded a separate society of two or three hundred families, and, being refused permission to worship according to the old *agende*, left the country. Many Silesian pastors followed his example, and resistance spread rapidly to Erfurt, Magdeburg, and different parts of Pomerania. At Erfurt, the leader of the movement, and afterwards of the emigration to America, was Rev. Johannes A. A. Grabau, pastor of the Evangelical church. In spite of an early education under the influence of a pastor of the United faith, Grabau seems to have kept his preference for the Lutheran church. Finally, in 1836, he reached the conclusion that the Union was contrary to the Scriptures, and declared publicly that he could no longer use the new *agende* with good conscience. His society agreed with him, and when he was suspended from his office and a new pastor put in charge, they followed him to his house, where services were held. This, too, was forbidden, but they decided "to obey God rather

[1] Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ii, p. 1376.

than man." The separate society grew until it reached a membership of nearly four hundred.

Meanwhile, at Magdeburg, another small body of Lutherans had separated from the Union church, and were holding services at the home of a captain of the guards, Henry von Rohr. The movement was spreading in Pomerania, and many pastors and laymen were being persecuted. In 1837, Grabau was imprisoned, and, at that time, there were said to be twenty pastors in prison or banished.[1] Laymen who refused to send their children to the United schools, or who availed themselves of the administration of Lutheran pastors in baptism or marriage ceremonies, but especially those who refused to pay the taxes required for the support of a pastor of the United faith, were imprisoned, fined, or otherwise punished.

At length von Rohr, who had been deprived of his position as captain of the guards, for his refusal to conform, assisted Grabau to escape from prison, where, it was claimed, he was illegally detained. They reached Seehof, on the coast of Pomerania, in safety. Previous to this time, frequent calls had come to Grabau from the Pomeranian churches which had been deprived of their pastors, and he now visited and conducted services in the different societies. Already the question of emigration had been talked of, and letters were received from friends in Ohio. The life of Grabau, written by his son, from which I have obtained the facts of his personal experience, states that Grabau advised them to wait until it was definitely settled whether the Lutheran faith would be tolerated. Accordingly, letters were sent to the government asking, in case it should not be tolerated, for permission to emigrate. To the first question the answer was, "The Lutheran church is within the United church; and outside of it, the king will tolerate no Lutheran church in this land." It is further stated that permission was given to emigrate, in case they proved to the satisfaction of the government that they had

[1] *Lebenslauf des Ehrwurdigen J. A. A. Grabau von John A. Grabau*, p. 26.

a pastor, but not otherwise. In consequence of this, many societies in Pomerania and the one at Magdeburg, placed themselves in communication with Grabau, asking him to become their pastor. Grabau, meanwhile, had been imprisoned a second time, but finally he received permission to emigrate.

This was the spring of 1839, and, with Magdeburg as a center, a large emigration was arranged for that year. Captain von Rohr was chosen to engage passage for the company, and to go in advance to America and select places for settlement. He decided on Buffalo and Milwaukee. Just why he selected Wisconsin, it is impossible to say; but after traveling through New York, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin, in order to find the best possible location for a settlement, Wisconsin and New York seemed to him the most favorable. It is thought that the considerations of cheap lands, forests, good soil, and temperate climate, influenced him.[1]

To defray the expenses of the journey, a common treasury was formed, to which the wealthier members contributed part of their means to assist the poor to accompany them. Directors were appointed for each company, to take charge of the money and distribute it according to the needs of the poorer people.

Passage was engaged for a thousand people, in five American sailing vessels. Rev. E. F. L. Krause, a pastor from Silesia, with his society accompanied them. They emigrated in the latter part of July, and reached Buffalo, October 5. Captain von Rohr had met them in New York, and told them of the places he had chosen, and their advantages. Accordingly about half of them settled in and near Buffalo, while the remainder came to Wisconsin with von Rohr.

The latter were chiefly Pomeranians. It is doubtless this body of immigrants that is mentioned in Buck's *Pioneer History of Milwaukee.* "The year 1839," he says,

[1] See author's article in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 330 and elsewhere.–Ed.

"brought the first installment of immigrants from Germany and Norway. The effect of their arrival, with their gold and silver wherewith to purchase land, was electric. * * * Whereas Milwaukee had been under financial depression before, now all doubts about the future were dissipated." Again, he says: "The first German colony arrived in 1839. It consisted of about eight hundred men, women and children [the number is probably exaggerated]. They brought with them the necessary housekeeping utensils and encamped on the lake shore south of Huron street. The men went about in a business way, examined the government plats in the land office, and having ascertained by all means in their power where lands well-timbered and watered could be purchased, they entered lands bounding on the Milwaukee River, between Milwaukee and Washington (later Ozaukee) counties. A small number remained in the village [of Milwaukee], but the most of them employed themselves without delay in clearing and cultivating lands. The men immediately declared their intention of becoming American citizens, every man signing his name to his petition, to the number of seventy in one day." [1]

The majority of the immigrants, over three hundred people, and probably those still possessing some means, went to Mequon, and there formed the Freistadt colony, a name chosen, no doubt, to commemorate their new freedom; some also settled in Cedarburg, while a few remained in Milwaukee.[2]

These settlers were from Pomerania, chiefly from the farming district of Stettin, on the Oder, and from the neighborhood of Camin and Greifenberg, on the Baltic. The Wisconsin settlers were chiefly farm laborers and handicraftsmen, and, accordingly, well adapted to pioneer life. They bought nearly all of the western half of the town of Mequon, where they built log houses and improved the land.

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[1] P. 181; and an address by Judge Miller, p. 265.

[2] Adolph A. Koss, *Milwaukee*, p. 103. Anton Eickhoff, *In der Neuen Heimath*, p. 372.

Captain von Rohr had come with them, and during the first year he conducted their services until the arrival from Buffalo of Rev. E. F. L. Krause, who was their first pastor; immediately on his arrival, a log church was built.

In the Milwaukee society, services were held in a house built by a fisherman on land near Chestnut street, given him by Byron Kilbourn. It was a solid structure, built after the German fashion of panel work and clay filling. They had no pastor, but the school teacher held services, while Krause came occasionally from Freistadt.[1]

In 1843, another large immigration followed from Pomerania, from the district of Stettin, and the neighborhood of Colberg, Treptow, and Camin, on the Baltic; also from Brandenburg, from the country lying between Cüstrin and Wrietzen, on the Oder. Rev. G. A. Kindermann acted as their leader. He had been directed to the Pomeranian churches by Grabau, during the earlier period of the persecution. Others continued to come until 1845. It was the reports of the earlier emigrants, who were their friends and acquaintances, that led them to Wisconsin.

The cause of this emigration also, was religious persecution, which had not yet ceased, though it was abating.[2] But there were, also, other causes. Differences had sprung up in the Lutheran church in Germany, over the question of church government. The decrees of the synod were, that in disputed questions of doctrine the majority of votes should decide. Against this, one party protested and claimed that the only ultimate authority was the Scriptures. To this party, which was the weaker, Kindermann belonged. To avoid unpleasantness, therefore, they decided to emigrate with those of like mind.

This company likewise formed a common treasury to which the wealthier members contributed from fifteen to twenty per cent of their means to assist the poor, both in the passage over and in purchasing land. It was expected

[1] Koss, p. 103.

[2] Separate worship was allowed by King William IV., in 1846.

that the money would be returned with interest, but in many cases this was never done. Of these immigrants, some remained in Milwaukee and joined the first settlers in the neighborhood of Chestnut street, but the majority went to the farms. Kirchhayn, Washington county, and Lebanon, Dodge county, with Ixonia, Jefferson county, were chosen for settlement. The settlers in Washington county were from the Baltic regions,—Camin, Colberg and Treptow,—while those from Stettin and the *Oderbrüche*, between 70 and 100 families, settled at Lebanon and Ixonia. A committee had been sent by the latter people to Sauk county, but they were not pleased with the country and returned to the Rock River. The meadows along the Rock River reminded them of their home in the *Oderbrüche*, and were speedily chosen. These settlers were descendants of the colonists whom Frederick the Great had settled in Brandenburg. They were independent proprietors in Germany, and a refined and intelligent class; they are still distinguished for those qualities, among the North Germans in that part of Wisconsin. Even where they have not as much means as their neighbors, their style of living is higher. The land in Lebanon and Ixonia being more open and easier to cultivate than that in Washington county, the settlers in the former districts had fewer difficulties to encounter, and obtained success more easily.

Between 1850 and 1860, a number of the early settlers sold out and went from Freistadt, Cedarburg, and Kirchhayn to Sherman, Sheboygan county, and Cooperstown, Manitowoc county, where land was in greater abundance.

The large Pomeranian and North German element in Wisconsin is undoubtedly due in great measure to this first body of immigrants. Through their reports to friends and relatives in the "Fatherland," many have since followed them, and either joined the original communities or passed into the northern counties where land was more abundant. Another potent influence was a tour through North Germany, made in 1853 by Rev. Johannes Grabau and Captain von Rohr. By their conversations and re-

ports about the success of their countrymen in Wisconsin, they caused many Lutherans to settle here. Emigration from the northern countries had scarcely begun at that period; but since 1870, Pomerania, Prussia, and the adjoining countries have furnished the greater part of the German emigration, of which Wisconsin has received a large share.

LATER IMMIGRATION.

There are, in Wisconsin, six large groups from North-eastern Germany: (1) The Milwaukee, Ozaukee, and Washington county group; (2) in Dodge and Jefferson counties, with Watertown as a center; (3) Manitowoc and Sheboygan counties; (4) the northern townships of Winnebago county, with the neighboring townships of Waushara, Waupaca, and Outagamie counties; (5) the south-central townships of Shawano county, with some small groups in northern Waupaca county; (6) the north-central towns of Marathon county, and the southern portion of Lincoln county. Smaller groups are also found in Fond du Lac county; Green Lake and Marquette counties; Columbia and Sauk counties; Vernon, Sauk, and Juneau counties, about Wonewoc and Elroy; Buffalo and La Crosse counties; and in the cities of Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Portage, and Fond du Lac.

The *nuclei* of the first two groups were formed between 1839 and 1846 by the Old Lutherans whose settlement has just been described. From 1854 to 1860, another large body immigrated and either joined the original settlements, or settled in the north-eastern towns of Dodge county, in Sheboygan and Manitowoc counties, in the northern part of Fond du Lac county, and in Green Lake county, while a few individuals went into the northern counties before 1860. Since 1848, they have continued to come in large numbers every year until the present time; but their immigration to the State was especially large from 1854 to 1857, in 1866, and just after the Franco-Prussian war. Since the two organized bodies of immigrants,— of 1839 and 1843,— the North German settlers, with few excep-

tions, have come by private enterprise, either singly, or in groups of two or three families. They first joined their friends and relatives already located here, worked sometimes in the same locality for a period, and then left for less-accessible portions of the State, where land was cheaper.

In Milwaukee, there is a large North German element, chiefly Pomeranians and Mecklenburgers. They belong to twenty-three Lutheran congregations, the majority of which are situated on the north and west sides of the city.[1] They aggregate seven thousand voting members, or between twenty and thirty thousand people, belonging chiefly to the laboring classes. These people brought little means with them. One of the early American settlers, who owned land and had frequent dealings with the Germans, says that when they purchased land they often paid not more than five dollars down, yet he never took a lot back. They are employed in the mills and factories, and in various trades; most of them own their homes; it is a community well worth study, in many respects. The air of thrift is very noticeable. The people cannot be said to exhibit great public spirit, nor unusual business enterprise; but while there is no pretense of display, there is evidence of genuine comfort and well-being.

Between 1850 and 1865, Watertown[2] and the towns of Herman, Theresa, Lomira, and Portland in Dodge county, and Ixonia, Waterloo, Lake Mills, Aztalan, Farmington, Jefferson, and Hebron in Jefferson county, received the

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[1] There are six congregations on the south side of the city.

[2] Watertown increased in population from about 1,800 to 10,000 between the years 1845 and 1868, the German element preponderating. In the fifth ward there is a large settlement of Mecklenburgers who came between 1854 and 1860. Three Lutheran societies and one Moravian, contain between 700 and 750 families, of whom the majority came in the same period. Besides the Mecklenburgers and a few people from Brandenburg, the rest, who form the larger part, are from Pomerania; in one church is a group from the circle of Pridlaw; in another, are people from Stettin, Colberg, and Camin.

greater part of their North German population.[1] In those towns, the Pomeranian element predominates, especially in Herman, Lomira, Theresa, Farmington, Lake Mills, and Waterloo. The remainder are from the two Mecklenburgs, Brandenburg, and a few from West Prussia.

Since 1865, many of the adjoining towns have been filling up with North Germans — new arrivals, or sons of the earlier immigrants. They have taken the place of the early American, Irish, or Norwegian settlers; such towns are Hustisford and Hubbard, first settled by Americans; Emmet, Richwood, Reeseville, and Clyman, in Dodge county, where Germans have taken the place of the Irish population; Ashippun, in the same county, where the early Norwegian settlers have within ten years been superseded by North Germans. In Waukesha county, the original Norwegian element has gone to the Red River valley, and Germans are taking their places; the census of 1890 shows the proportion of German-born to be 16.9 per cent of the

[1] The Pomeranians in Herman came from the districts of Stargard, Regenwalde, Dramburg, and Schiefelbein (the central part of farther Pomerania). The immigration occurred between the years 1847 and 1860, but chiefly from 1848 to 1855. In Theresa and Lomira, the population consists mainly of Germans from the northeastern provinces. Among the Germans in Lomira and Theresa, are sixty or seventy families from the districts of Colberg and Treptow, Pomerania; and twenty families from Mecklenburg Schwerin, who settled there between 1854 and 1868. In the adjoining towns, are people from the same duchy, who came in the same period. Between 1850 and 1860, a body of Brandenburgers settled in the two townships: one Lutheran congregation is composed of these people. Another congregation has 180 families of Pomeranians, Brandenburgers, and a few Mecklenburgers, who are located in these towns and in Hustisford, Clyman, Hubbard, and Lebanon. In Waterloo and Lake Mills, with Deerfield, Dane county, there are over a hundred families from Pomerania, who settled there between 1850 and 1870, in part superseding American settlers.

Farmington is settled almost exclusively with Pomeranians, but with them are a few Brandenburgers. Here also the German settlement began as early as 1854. Aztalan, Jefferson, and Hebron have, besides a large number of Germans from Bavaria, nearly a hundred families from Pomerania, West Prussia, and Mecklenburg. Here the majority settled between 1850 and 1860.

population of the county, an increase of 1,264, or 23 per cent since 1880.

The Pomeranian group in Herman were farm laborers (probably contract laborers) and peasants — about one-half, it is said, had owned some property in Germany. They purchased government farms of 80 acres each. Many have since enlarged their tracts, some of their neighbors having gone west, and now own farms of from 100 to 400 acres. The groups from Mecklenburg Schwerin were day-laborers, while the remaining groups were peasants, day-laborers, and handicraftsmen.

Beginning about 1854, North Germans, chiefly from Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and a few from Posen, formed comparatively large settlements in the towns of Leeds and Portage, and about Kilbourn, and scattered settlements in the towns of Columbus, Randolph, and Cambria.[1]

Passing north, we find that 25 per cent of the population of Green Lake county are German-born, and that chiefly North German. In 1848, the year that the first steamboat passed up Fox river to Princeton, the first Germans, six in number, settled in the county between Princeton and Berlin. From then to 1856, a few Germans came into the same region; but between 1856 and 1866, a large North German element, chiefly from Pomerania and Posen, settled near Princeton. One of their countrymen, August Theil, a blacksmith, located in Princeton, bought up farm lands, and sold them on credit to the immigrants. The Pomeranians located southeast of Princeton, where there are about 225 families — Methodists and Lutherans; and west of Princeton, people from Posen — Protestants and Catholics — have a large settlement. In the towns of Manchester, Kingston, and Marquette there are Germans from Posen and the Neumark (northeastern portion of Brandenburg), together with Pomeranians and Mecklen-

[1] The Germans in Leeds are chiefly Mecklenburgers, those in Portage are from Pomerania and Posen, and about Kilbourn there are many Pomeranians.

burgers, who located there mainly in the years following the Franco-Prussian war.

The Germans in Fond du Lac county are chiefly from Rhenish Prussia, but the population of Eldorado and Friendship are about one-half Germans who came from the region of Naugard, Pomerania, from Prussia, and Mecklenburg, and settled first along the ridge road, attracted partly by the timber land. The majority came in 1855; since then, a few families have arrived in each year. In the city of Fond du Lac, there is a congregation of nearly 250 North German families, from Brandenburg chiefly, but also from Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Hanover, and Prussia. They came chiefly between 1860 and 1870, to work in Meyer's sash, door, and blind factory. Now they are employed in the tannery, and the yeast and furniture factories.

Sheboygan and Manitowoc counties are interesting because of the heterogeneous nature of their German population, though the majority in both counties is North German. Sheboygan contains 25.3 per cent, and Manitowoc 21.3 per cent German-born; the former shows a decided increase since 1880 — the latter, however, has decreased somewhat in the same period. The attraction in Sheboygan county has probably been the rapid growth of the manufacturing city of Sheboygan.

It is estimated that there are about 15,000 North Germans in Sheboygan county, settled chiefly in the towns of Mosel, Herman, Sheboygan, Plymouth, Greenbush, and Mitchell, while scattered settlements are found in the southern townships. One of the largest groups from any single province is a body of Brandenburgers, from the Uckermark, located in the southern part of Herman.[1] The North Germans followed the immigrants from South and Middle Germany. From 1850 to 1855, the population of the county increased from 8,379 to 20,391.

[1] In Mosel, there are some Pomeranians. The town of Sheboygan, and the eastern part of Plymouth, contain a large group of Pomeranians. On the western line of Plymouth, extending into the towns of Greenbush and Mitchell, are many Mecklenburgers.

In 1846, the population of Manitowoc county was said to be 629. In 1850 it was 3,702, and in 1860 about 23,000, among whom was a large proportion of Germans. Probably the first group of North Germans to settle in the county, were a body of men from Holstein, whom Frederick Burchhardt, a native of Saxony, met in Detroit and induced to go to Neshoto, where there was a saw-mill belonging to the Stringham Company, by whom he was employed. Some of the people located in Neshoto, others in Mishicott. This was about 1840. The next German settlers were mostly from Saxony and Rhenish Prussia. Between 1848 and 1865, a large number of Mecklenburgers and Pomeranians located in the county. There are said to be about 5,000 families of this class, together with the Hanoverians and Oldenburgers, who are known as Mecklenburgers from the fact that the majority came from Mecklenburg-Schwerin. These people belong to eleven or more Lutheran congregations.[1]

Passing to Winnebago county, we find the German element outside of Oshkosh, mostly confined to the northern towns. In the city of Oshkosh there are over 1,000 North German families, of which the men chiefly work in the lumber mills and factories, while a few are engaged in some independent business. They belong to four Lutheran churches and one German Methodist; of these, about 700 families are said to be from Pomerania,— the rest come from Posen, Mecklenburg, and East and West Prussia. The time of settlement is difficult to determine exactly, though it seems that few came before 1854, and the great bulk had settled in Oshkosh before 1870.

In Neenah, there is a group of one hundred families from the district of Stettin, Pomerania. The process of settlement began about 1865, and has continued to within five years. In the city and town of Neenah, and in the neigh-

[1] The location is, so far as I can learn, about as follows: The town of Maple Grove, and the adjoining towns of Cato, Franklin, and Rockland contain about 80 or 100 Pomeranian families: in Reedsville, there are a number of West Prussians, while in the city of Manitowoc, and scattered through the country, are the Mecklenburgers and Hanoverians.

boring towns of Clayton, Winnebago county, and Greenville, Outagamie county, there is a group of Mecklenburgers from the region of Krivitz, who now number with their families about 200 people. They are engaged in farming and various kinds of business, and are people of enterprise and intelligence.[1]

The navigation up the Wolf River, and the saw mills constructed along its banks, were the special influences that attracted this extensive German settlement, as well as the one farther north; but individuals have played some part as steamship agents, or by their business dealings.[2]

The settlements in the northern towns of Waupaca county and in Shawano county, which form the fifth group, were of a later growth. North of the Wolf River, the northeastern part of Waupaca county is heavily timbered; together with the eastern part of Shawano county, it was settled in the sixties. Over one-half of the population of Shawano county is German, of whom the most are from Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg. Grant and Washington,[3] Germania and Almon, are almost exclusively

[1] One of the first settlers was Frederick Krueger. In 1850, he, with four others,— one a Pomeranian,— bought 480 acres of land in Clayton. Neenah was then a more accessible market than Appleton, and settlement to the north and west had scarcely begun. In 1851 he returned to Krivitz, where his father was a wagon-maker. He married there, and soon after returned to America, accompanied by a large number from Krivitz and vicinity, perhaps 160 or 170 altogether. Eighteen or twenty of these followed him to Wisconsin, where the majority worked in the pineries, only three having sufficient means to buy land. Between 1850 and 1860, others followed and settled in Clayton, Greenville, and Neenah. Eleven of the original families were from Krivitz; among them was one man of considerable means.

[2] William Spiegelberg was for many years agent of the Hamburg–American Packet Company. Andrew Mertin, in Wolf River, was well known and influential among the Germans; and Peter Faust, a later settler, sent immigration pamphlets to Germany.

[3] Grant contains 210 Pomeranians and Mecklenburgers, and Washington 200 Pomeranians. In Herman, there are twelve Pomeranian families from the circle of Regenwalde, in the district of Stettin, who followed the Wolf River immigrants. In the city of Shawano, there are about 750 Germans in a population of 1,500.

German; while Holland, Pella, and Herman are three-fourths German.

The towns of Clayton, Winneconne, Winchester, and Wolf River, Winnebago county; Bloomfield, Waushara county; Fremont, Caledonia, Weyauwega, Saxeville, and Lind, Waupaca county; and, to a less extent, Dale, Ellington, Hortonia, Center, and Greenville, Outagamie county, contain a large North German population. Of these towns, Wolf River and Bloomfield are settled almost exclusively by North Germans from the district of Stettin, Pomerania, Posen, and East and West Prussia.[1] The so-called "Rat River settlement," east of the Wolf River, was started about 1854.[2] It gradually spread eastward, and now includes about 150 families, of whom three-fourths are from Pomerania, and one-fourth from Posen. West of Wolf River, about Orihula, the first Germans were from Rhenish Prussia, and located there in 1849 and 1850; but the great mass of North Germans in this region came between 1857 and 1865. They bought in succession government, Fox River, and railroad land.

It is said that seventy-five per cent of the population of Marathon county is of German parentage, and that chiefly *Platt Deutsch*. The largest group from one province are the Pomeranians, of whom there are from 1,000 to 1,500 families. There are many also from West Prussia and

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[1] In Winchester, there are about 48 families from the district of Stettin,—mostly from the circles of Naugard and Regenwalde,—and 18 families from the district of Bromberg, Posen.

Of a population of 909 in Wolf River, about one-sixth are from Pomerania; of the rest, all but about 25 Americans, are mainly from East and West Prussia, and Posen. In Bloomfield, there are 80 Pomeranian families from the district of Stettin, circle of Randow, and 60 from the province of Posen.

[2] In 1854, William Spiegelberg, then a subordinate officer in the Prussian army, sent his father, three brothers, and two sisters to Wolf River, and he followed in 1857. They were from the circle of Regenwalde, district of Stettin. Their immigration, according to his own statement, was well known in the districts from which they came, and many followed him, settling in Winnebago, Shawano, and Lincoln counties.

Posen, and perhaps 150 families from Brandenburg. They are located in the northern and central towns chiefly — Marathon, Cassel, Maine, Berlin, Wein, Wausau, Stettin, Rib Falls, and Hamburg, which are solidly German. Some scattered settlements are found in the eastern townships, — Elderon, Pike Lake, Harrison, Easton, and Norrie. The western towns are more thickly settled, but the population there is mixed, though the North German element is large. German settlement began in 1855, in the towns of Maine and Berlin. Wausau (then known as Big Bull Falls) was a small place, possessing a saw and grist mill. A few Silesian families first settled in the town of Berlin; also, about the same time, a Pomeranian, August Kopplin, from Princeton. Finding an abundance of cheap land he wrote home to his relatives in Germany, urging them to come; many came and worked in the southern counties until they obtained means enough to purchase government land in the north, at $1.25 an acre. By 1858, as many as forty families were settled in the central towns. The first settlers entered the county by a trail. In 1857, they constructed a rough road by chopping down the trees; but for some time they were obliged to carry their grain 60 miles to Plover to be ground, or to grind it by hand. It took ten years to break 40 acres of land, no harvest could be raised for the first three or four years, and until 1861 wages were only fifty cents a day. The young men hired themselves out during the harvesting season in the southern counties, bringing home their wages. In 1867, a large body of Pomeranians arrived. August Kickbush, a store-keeper in Wausau, had that year returned to Pomerania, collected a large number of persons from Greifenberg and Regenwalde, — peasants and day-laborers, — and conducted them to Wisconsin. He states that his party consisted of 702 persons, including the children, but only a portion settled in Marathon county. By 1867, there were 700 German voters in the county, and 1,000 German families.

Another agency in the settlement of Marathon county was the Wisconsin Valley railway, which was constructed

in 1874. The company owned 200,000 acres of land in Marathon and Lincoln counties. To induce immigration, they sent out pamphlets and maps through Wisconsin and Germany, and at one time had an agent traveling in Germany. The conditions of purchase were, that the timber should not be cut off until the land was paid for, or, if cut off, the proceeds should go toward paying for the land. Prices ranged from $2.50 to $8 an acre, according to quality and location. In every case, the Germans preferred hard-wood land.

The settlement of Lincoln county was similar to that of the central towns of Marathon county, though I have learned few details. Among the German settlers at Merrill, are sixteen families from Regenwalde and Naugard, in the district of Stettin. The census of 1890 shows 17.9 per cent of German-born, an increase from 359 to 2,151, since 1880.

Settlement in the western townships began in 1879, through the agency of a Milwaukee firm, Johnson, Rietbrock & Halsey, who had at their disposal 50,000 acres of farm land in Marathon county. In that year Andrew Kreutzer, acting as their agent, took a body of Germans from Grafton, Ozaukee county, to Black Creek Falls (Athens), where they built a mill and began a settlement. Kreutzer frequently visited New York to meet and secure immigrants. The majority of the settlers are the sons of German farmers from the southern part of the State; but with them are people from Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Limnitz, Pomerania, South Germany, and Austria. They bought hard-wood lands. The census of 1890 indicates an increase of 4,256 — or nearly 100 per cent — of German-born since 1880, of whom the majority probably settled in the western towns, named after the Milwaukee firm, — Halsey, Rietbrock, and Johnson.

West of the Wisconsin River, there are several groups of North Germans. In the vicinity of Wonewoc, including the towns of Summit and Lindina, Juneau county, Hillsborough and Greenwood, Vernon county, Woodland and

Lavalle, Sauk county, there are about 50 Pomeranian families, twelve from Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and single families from several other northern provinces, with a large number of Hanoverians. A few settled there in 1857 and 1867, but the majority came between 1870 and 1875, before a railroad went through—the Chicago & Northwestern railroad having been built through Wonewoc in 1875. Among these immigrants were mechanics, masons, and shoemakers, but the majority were day-laborers, and brought little means—one of the first families (1867) sent $1,100 to Germany, to bring over nine persons. They bought land of speculators, and this proved a disadvantage. There were few accessible markets before the railroad went through, and prices for farm products were low. The settlers were compelled by the land owners to sell their farm products for store-orders, and for several years they were unable to get cash payments. In the town and vicinity of Elroy, joining them on the north, is a group of about 30 Pomeranian families from the districts of Köslin and Stettin, three families from Arnswalde, Brandenburg, and one from Mecklenburg, who settled there about 1880. Of this number only two owned land in Germany, the rest were laborers. Here they worked on the railroad or at any available employment, until they could buy land. Wages they found to be three or four times those obtainable in Germany. In the towns of Honey Creek and Troy, Sauk county, are a number of Pomeranians, and in Greenfield and Fairfield are some Mecklenburgers.

In Buffalo county, the Swiss element prevails, but Canton, one of the northern townships, is settled chiefly with North Germans. They are also found in large numbers among the Swiss in the south-central townships.

In La Crosse county, living in the city of La Crosse and vicinity, are many West Prussians, the majority of whom came between 1875 and 1885.

Besides the North German groups above enumerated, there are scattered settlements in the northwestern part of Wisconsin. Some are from our southern counties, but

many came directly from Germany. Along the line of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha railway and through its agency, there are, in Shell Lake, Washburn county, and Perley and Turtle Lake, Barron county, Germans who came directly from Pomerania and Brandenburg. At Butternut and Glidden, on the Wisconsin Central railway, there are many West Prussians.

The larger proportion of the North Germans in the State live upon farms, and came from the agricultural districts of Germany. Predominant among those from the north-eastern provinces, are day-laborers on the large estates, and small peasant owners. Next come the shepherds, handicraftsmen, and foresters; a small percentage were skilled workmen, tradesmen, and large land owners. Of the earlier immigrants, a large proportion came from Pomerania,[1] especially from the district of Stettin, which is the most fertile portion, and from Brandenburg and Mecklenburg. In later years, especially since 1876, West Prussia and Posen have furnished a large portion of the immigrants to Wisconsin. These two provinces, while they contain large districts of fertile soil, have little enterprise and a high degree of illiteracy. As a rule, the first emigrants from the various localities were people of some means, but the great majority brought little money with them. Often their passage over was prepaid by relatives, and many went immediately to work in the pineries or saw-mills, until they were able to secure sufficient means to purchase land. Often their countrymen here who had means, or had land to sell, assisted them with loans, not always to the advantage of the immigrants. The men who had dealings with these Germans invariably testify that but small payments were made at first; they nevertheless always worked and saved enough to make the late payments as they came due. In almost every community, mention is

[1] The estimates indicate that there are now in the State between four and five thousand German families from Pomerania,— perhaps 25,000 individuals,— by far the largest number from any one province or principality.

made of men who reached here with a few dollars and have since become well-to-do and even wealthy farmers, worth $20,000 or $30,000; while the men who came with considerable property, and after buying farms hired their work done, are now poor men.

In earlier times, the immigrants often brought their primitive plows, axes, and hoes, besides their house-keeping utensils; but they found this unprofitable, and immigrants now rarely bring much besides bedding and clothing. The first generation, especially in the country districts, continue to wear the clothes woven by themselves in the old home. The Pomeranians are occasionally seen with long blue coats brought from Germany; wooden shoes and slippers are used for outdoor work; occasionally, at communion service, men wear the bridegroom's costume of velvet trousers and waistcoat, bought fifty or more years ago. With the second generation, all these peculiarities disappear.

NORTHWESTERN GERMANY.

The population west of the Elbe, including Holstein, is almost entirely of Low Saxon stock who have been there for generations, and among them are some of the purest representatives of the German race.

The Friesians, who dwell along the sea coast in Oldenburg, Hanover, and Western Holstein, still speak a language much like the Dutch, and are distinguished for their strength of character, high-mindedness, and independence. The peasant class here are largely proprietors; political independence has been fostered to some extent, and they are distinguished for their tenacity to old customs.

The people of Schleswig-Holstein are characterized by a somewhat prevalent materialism.[1] Their location on the sea-coast has brought them into contact with other peoples, so that they are less conservative than their countrymen in the interior.

[1] Steinhard, ii, p. 736.

The Westphalian peasants, dwelling near the headwaters of the Ems, rival the Frieslanders in their fidelity to old traditions and customs. These descendants of the old Saxon race are the most conservative element in Germany. Many of their farm-houses are even now built in the same style as in the time of Charlemagne.[1] Here, as in Lippe-Detmold, there is a strong sentiment against the division of the peasant farms. The Westphalian peasant has but few children, and most of the work is done by laborers.

From Northwestern Germany, there are a few especially interesting groups. In Manitowoc county, people from Hanover are not distinguished from Mecklenburgers. In Sheboygan county, a group of several families from Hameln located in the town of Herman about 1847; and a few years later. Hanoverians settled in the towns of Sheboygan and Sheboygan Falls.

In Dane county, in the towns of Windsor and Burke, there is a group of Germans from the village of Strait, in Brunswick. The first settler came in 1846, a young man of 26; writing of his success, other young men followed him, and later two or three families at a time. There were, altogether, twenty-two single persons and ten families; some were farmers, the rest weavers, masons, blacksmiths, butchers, and carpenters. The locality in which they settled was very unlike the one they left, and they had but little means to start with, yet they now own farms of from 40 to 200 acres each, and are regarded among the well-to-do of the neighborhood. All were originally Lutherans, but about half of them have become Methodists here, and all are rapidly becoming Americanized.

In the vicinity of Wonewoc, Juneau county, there are about 56 families of Hanoverians, who settled there with the Pomeranians in the latter part of the 60's and the 70's. The towns of Westfield and Reedsburg, in Sauk county, are almost entirely settled by people from Hanover.

Oldenburgers settled in large numbers in Liberty and

[1] Elisée Reclus, *The Earth and Its Inhabitants*, Europe, iii, p. 280.

Two Rivers, Manitowoc county, and in Calumet county, in the early years of their settlement. They were also among the early settlers in Theresa, Dodge county, in Sheboygan Falls, and later in Shawano county.

Westphalians form few groups in Wisconsin, though many are scattered about the State. In the latter part of the 30's, a group of Westphalians — and with them, people from Cleves — are said to have settled in Kenosha county, but I have not been able to learn more about the settlement. In the early 40's, Westphalians in considerable numbers settled in Newton and Kossuth, Manitowoc county. They, with the people from the Rhine, formed a large portion of the population of the county in 1848.

The early settlers in Neshoto and Mishicott, Manitowoc county, were people from Holstein, who settled there through the influence of Frederick Burchhardt. In Schleswig, Manitowoc county, and New Holstein, Calumet county, there is a group of Germans from Holstein, who came in 1848 and 1849, on account of political discontent. They were mostly men of means, of the agricultural class, but among them were a professor of language, an editor from the city of Altona, a physician, and a poet. The poorer men worked for their wealthier countrymen. They came to Wisconsin through the influence of Ostenfeld, one of their countrymen in Calumet, who visited his native land and called the attention of the people to that portion of Wisconsin. They were men above the average in intelligence, and among them there was an active German life. Theatrical, musical, and debating societies flourished, and there was a decided leaning towards free ideas. The generation now living are more American than German. In addition to these groups, people from Holstein are located in the towns of Fairfield and Greenfield, in Sauk county.

Perhaps the largest group from any one portion of Northwestern Germany is that of "Lippers," from Lippe-Detmold. Lippe-Detmold is a small principality which borders

[1] Gustave Körner's *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Cincinnati, 1880).

the Weser River on the north, and is intersected by the famous *Teutoberger Wald* at the south. It is mostly mountainous, with rich and fertile valleys; while much of the land is owned by small, independent landowners. The ruling prince possesses large domains which are let out on perpetual lease. It is the custom here for the eldest son to inherit the property, and to make compensation to the other heirs. In this way, the estates are kept undivided for centuries. Spinning flax was the occupation of the people until it was discontinued by reason of the invention of machinery. Overpopulation compelled the inhabitants to migrate during the summer months to Hamburg, Bremen, and Holland to make brick and tile, returning with their earnings in the fall.

Emigration was the result of these economic conditions. The famine year, 1847, was an inciting cause; another was the desire for perfect religious freedom. The Lippers who came to Wisconsin belonged to the Reformed faith. Between 1840 and 1850, a revival occurred in the churches, and the people attended meetings outside of their own districts. This was contrary to official regulations, and though no conflict occurred, the people chafed under legal limitations. Moreover, the old Heidelberg catechism was changed for one of a more rationalistic character. These events probably gave a greater impulse to emigration.

The first emigration from Lippe-Detmold went to St. Louis, whither one of their countrymen, Rev. H. A. Winter,[1] had preceded them. This was in 1847, and the same year another large body came to Wisconsin from near Langenholzhausen, a region bordering on the Weser River, where large domains exist and the villagers are often very poor. About a hundred families, it is thought, came under the leadership of Frederick Reineking and others, and settled in Sheboygan and Manitowoc counties — through the influence of their countryman, Herman Kemper, of Milwaukee, who was an agent for lands in those

[1] Now a clergyman in Madison, Wis

counties. They continued to come for the next five or six years. The majority settled in the western part of Herman, Sheboygan county, in the eastern part of Rhine, in the neighborhood of Johnsonville, in the town of Sheboygan Falls, and in the city of Sheboygan. In Manitowoc county they are located in Newton, Centreville, the city of Manitowoc, and a few in Kossuth and Cooperstown. Their number is hard to estimate; but with the small groups situated in various parts of the State, it is thought that altogether they number over 300 families. The first settlers were poor, and were compelled to work in the sawmills. They bought government land, and mortgaged it; but the debts were soon paid, and success was attained. One family of eight brothers, who came as poor young men, are now all well-to-do. In some localities, the Lippers have become Methodists, Baptists, or Presbyterians, but in Sheboygan county they are still members of the Reformed church. At Franklin, in the town of Herman, they have a Reformed college and mission house, founded on the German mission house plan.

SOUTH AND MIDDLE GERMANY.

The largest groups from South and Middle Germany are from Rhenish Prussia, Switzerland,[1] Bavaria, Luxemburg, Baden, and Saxony. There are also many Hessians, Würtemburgers, and Germans from Austria.

The South and Middle Germans were among the earlier settlers, especially those of 1848 to 1854. They are found in largest numbers in our eastern counties. In Milwaukee, they form the larger proportion of the German population; this is true, also, of Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, and Menasha. They are found also in large numbers in Washington, Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Jefferson, Dane, Sauk, and Buffalo counties. Besides these early settlements, another

[1] Not politically a part of Germany, but the population is chiefly German, and the historical conditions are similar to those of Germany.

large group was formed in the 80's, in north-central Wisconsin.

The majority of the South Germans are Catholics.[1] The large German Catholic immigration to the State is probably due in some measure to the fact that a German priest and bishop were early sent to Milwaukee, both of them well-known and of marked ability. In 1844, Bishop Henni, a native of Switzerland, was sent to Milwaukee from Cincinnati, where he had been professor of philosophy and church history in the Athenaeum. He had founded many German Catholic societies in Ohio and had established the first German Catholic newspaper in America. He was a man of strong German spirit, and through his instrumentality a *priester seminar* was established, which afterwards became the nucleus of a large group of institutions at St. Francis. When he went to Milwaukee in 1844, there were, according to Schem,[2] but eight thousand Catholics in Wisconsin; but in 1867 there were two hundred and fifty thousand, the increase being largely due to Bishop Henni's direction and increasing activity. Thus the Milwaukee diocese became one of the most important in the United States, and Henni was made archbishop, being the first German in the United States to attain that office.[3] He has been followed by German bishops, not only in Milwaukee, but also in Green Bay and La Crosse.

RHENISH PRUSSIA.

From the earliest years, the Rhine River has been one of the chief waterways of Europe. It was the highway of immigration, and many a fierce struggle was fought on its banks. It has always been characterized by a vigorous

[1] Some idea of the proportion of North and South Germans in Wisconsin, can be obtained from the statistics of the German Lutheran and German Catholic churches. There were in 1893, according to church authorities, about 225,000 German Lutherans and 105,000 German Catholics in Wisconsin.

[2] Schem, *Deutsch-Amerik, Conversations-Lexicon*, v, p. 266.

[3] Körner, p. 290.

and varied life. Owing to the rich mines of ore that lie embedded in the mountains bordering the Rhine, and on account of its fertile meadows, industry is probably more varied than elsewhere in Germany. Vine-culture, coal, iron mining, manufacturing, and agriculture, are the chief industries.[1]

The vineyards lie mainly between Mayence and Bonn, including the district of Cologne, and along the valleys of the Mosel and Neckar. In the vine regions, the scenery is picturesque. In the Rhine valley, the inhabitants are a fiery, nervous race, having a strong attachment to their homes, and hospitable and socially inclined. The country is rich in poetry and song, and the German good cheer (*gemüthlichkeit*) reigns supreme. The Mosel valley is a relatively isolated region; owing to the former lack of communication with the outside world, the history and legends bear much more of a provincial character than those of the Rhine, while its inhabitants are less progressive.[2]

Of the industrial regions, the towns of Elberfeld and Barmen, in the Wupper valley, are the most famous for the variety and excellence of their manufactures, which can hardly be excelled in all Germany. Physically, the men, owing to the kind of labor they perform, are less developed than in the mountainous regions.

The population of the Rhinelands is more than one-half Roman Catholic. The Protestant element, which, by the census of 1880, numbers over a million, is strongest on the right bank of the river. In the valley of the Wupper, the Reformed faith prevails. Rhineland is one of the most thickly-populated regions of Germany.

The Rhenish Prussians located in Wisconsin are chiefly from the government districts of Cologne (Köln) and Treves, which includes the Mosel valley, and from Elberfeld and Barmen, in the Wupper valley. They were among the earliest German immigrants to the State, and include small

[1] *Grossindustrie, Rheinlands und Westfalen.*

[2] Steinhard, ii, pp. 308–315.

peasant farmers from the vine regions, and many of the industrial class. In 1841 and 1842 a few individuals located in different places, and opened the way for the larger settlements. In 1841, it is said that a few families from near Cologne settled at Oak Creek, Milwaukee county. In 1842 Christian Peil, from the same locality, settled in the town of Lake. He wrote home to his friends, and soon after six families followed, among them the Deusters; within a few years, fifty or more families (all Catholics) emigrated and settled either in the town of Lake, where the settlement was named New Köln, or in Oak Creek. Some were men of considerable means, and none were compelled to leave their native land because of poverty. Rhenish Prussians settled also at West Granville; but whether they came with the Köln settlers, I have not learned. Of the earlier settlers and their families, but few remain. These towns are almost solidly German, but their population is a mixed one, composed of representatives of all portions of the "Fatherland."

About the same time, people from the Rhine settled in Dane, Sauk, Fond du Lac, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Outagamie counties, locating usually near Catholic mission stations. Count Haraszthy opened the way to German settlement along the Wisconsin at Sauk City, and on the opposite bank, as early as 1840.[1] In Dane county, a mission station was formed in 1845 at Roxbury, presided over by a German Catholic priest. Large German settlements were soon formed, the majority of the settlers being Rhenish Prussians. The Wisconsin River, at Sauk City, was thought to resemble a portion of the Rhenish territory, and this was another reason for the German settlement there. A large number from all parts of this province are settled in the town of Prairie du Sac. At Roxbury, Cross Plains, Middleton, and Berry, in Dane county, the Germans are from Cologne and other portions of Rhenish Prussia, and from Bavaria. In Madison, a German Catholic priest was

[1] See sketch of Haraszthy, *ante*, pp. 79, 80.—Ed.

located in 1849. The congregation was chiefly Irish, few Germans being then settled there; but in that year Gov. L. J. Farwell bought the Doty claim, and began to improve the lands between the two lakes and the Catfish River. His object was to dig a canal connecting the lakes, and to build a mill. Through immigration agents, he invited Germans to come in, and many arrived that year from different parts of the old country. During the next decade, there was so large an increase, that the parish was divided into Irish and German congregations in 1853.[1]

In Fond du Lac county, the first families from Rhenish Prussia located about 1841 in the town of Calumet, which then included Marshfield. This was along the east shore of Lake Winnebago, which they reached from Sheboygan. The first settlers attracted others, and by 1845 a Catholic church was built at Marytown. It was the only one for miles around, and became a strong center of attraction. Owing to the bad harvest of 1846, in Germany, the immigration was especially large that year; while the agitations of 1848 and 1849, with the increased demand for military service, drove away many others.

Dr. Carl de Haas, in a work written in 1848,[2] stated that the inhabitants of the Calumet settlement then numbered 1,500, of whom only about twenty German families were Protestants; the rest were Catholics, mostly from the Rhine territory, many from Mosel, already forming by far the greater part of the population, and increasing daily. By 1850, the towns of Calumet, Marshfield, Taycheedah, and Forest were settled by Germans who were mostly Rhinelanders from the districts of Cologne and Treves.

Between 1850 and 1856, people from the same district in Germany settled in Ashford, in the southeastern part of the county; and at about the same time, in the city of

[1] The original German congregation in Madison contained nineteen Bavarian families, seven from Würtemberg, six from Baden, nine from Switzerland, and nine from the Rhine provinces.

[2] *Nord Amerika Wisconsin, Calumet: Winke für Auswanderer* (Elberfeld and Iserlohn, 1848).

Fond du Lac. Outside of the city, belonging to five Catholic churches in these towns, there are over 560 families, mainly from the Rhine provinces. They live in the above-mentioned towns, and in less numbers in Eden, Osceola, and Lamartine. In Germany, they were farmers on their own estates, and mechanics. Nearly all brought means enough to enable them to buy either government land or improved farms. They now each own from 40 to 160 acres of land, and all are comfortably circumstanced, though they are said not to exhibit as much pride in the maintenance of their buildings as the North Germans, in Dodge county.

In Outagamie county, there is a large group living in the city of Appleton and in the towns of Freedom, Center, Ellington, Dale, and Greenville. It is thought that the first Germans settled in Buchanan as early as 1842. A Catholic mission was formed at Little Chute, presided over by Father T. J. Van den Broek,[1] and here again the church was a special attraction. They came from all parts of Rhenish Prussia, and were nearly all possessed of means — all the way from $200 to $1,200. The majority settled there in the 50's, and bought either government land, or that owned by the Green Bay & Mississippi Canal Co. Some Germans were employed in the construction of that canal. Here, many of them own farms of 160 acres, and are a well-to-do people.

In Manitowoc and Sheboygan counties, the Rhenish Prussians were among the earlier settlers. About 1846 and 1847, some five families located in Newton. The next body was induced to settle through Charles Esslinger, later a citizen of Manitowoc. For several years he was located in Buffalo as agent of the firm of Jones & Allen, who owned considerable land about Manitowoc. During the winter of 1849-50, a body of Rhinelanders — 56 persons in all, he tells me — were compelled to remain in Buffalo.

[1] See *ante*, "Documents relating to the Catholic church in Green Bay," pp. 192 *et seq.*— Ed.

Esslinger met them and persuaded them to locate in Manitowoc county. Some remained in the town, but most of them settled on farms in Newton, while a few located in Kossuth. Newton now contains a large Rhenish Prussian element, particularly from Elberfeld and Barmen; but some also are from Wesel, probably induced to settle through the influence of Gustav Richter, who was a native of that place.[1]

In Sheboygan county, the Rhinelanders are settled in the town of Rhine, having located there about 1847.

Many Rhenish Prussians from the valley of the Wupper, a tributary of the Rhine, seem to have settled in Wisconsin about this time. A work written by Theodore Wettstein of Barmen,[2] who came to the United States as leader of a large party of settlers, and himself settled in Milwaukee, states the conditions there, and causes of emigration, and describes their journey. For a long time, he writes, streams of emigrants have been leaving Germany; but no trace of the agitation has reached the Wupper valley, though affairs are in a bad condition. Manufacturing was the principal industry there, but it was losing ground owing to increased competition, which lowered wages and the price of wares. The laborers and trading classes, he said, suffered most. Emigration was agitated; but with some the question was, whether they were morally and physically suited to the hard struggle in the forests of America; with others, it was a question of means. The reports from the United States were generally looked upon with suspicion; but the work written by Dr. de Haas, from Calumet, who was a native of Elberfeld, was regarded as trustworthy and widely circulated. By the fall of 1847, about 300 persons in Elberfeld and Barmen had planned to emigrate. They were mostly handicraftsmen and traders — men of some means, who expected to enter farms in the West. Wettstein was one of those who had decided to leave. He

[1] See his *Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin* (Wesel, 1849).

[2] *Der Nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin* (Elberfeld, 1851).

had several young sons whose future caused him much anxiety; he felt that the prospects for success were far better in the new world than in Germany. Being a man of some prominence in that locality, having held some important civil positions, many desired to go under his leadership. He gathered a company of 156 persons,—69 from Barmen, 31 from Elberfeld, and 56 from other cities,—and engaged passage at $40 a head. He seems to have started with a preference for Wisconsin, and in New York his impressions were confirmed. He came to Milwaukee, and though no definite statement is made regarding the matter, he implies that the majority accompanied him. Just where they settled I have not learned, but very likely in Milwaukee, Manitowoc, and Sheboygan counties, for about that time people from Wettstein's district located in those counties.

In Menasha, the largest element in the German Catholic church is from the valley of the Mosel.

LUXEMBURG.

The grand duchy of Luxemburg is a small triangular state, situated on the eastern slope of the Ardennes mountains, and separated from Rhenish Prussia by the Mosel River. The northern triangle, which, like the province of Luxemburg, consists of broad tracts of table-land, with an unfruitful soil and sparse population, is known as the Oesling; the southern portion bears the name of Gutland. The latter, as its name indicates, is a more fruitful region, with rich fields, well-watered meadows, and a denser population. The Mosel drains the country; and along its banks, as in Rhenish Prussia, the vine grows in abundance.

Like Belgium, Luxemburg has constantly been exposed to the rapacity of stronger nations; the character and disposition of her people bear many traces of foreign influence. After a few centuries of self rule, following the breaking up of the Kingdom of the Franks, Luxemburg became a fief of Burgundy in 1447. Then in 1506, it passed in succession to the Spanish branch of the house of Haps-

burg; to the Austrian branch of the same house in 1714, and at length, in 1796, was taken possession of by the French republic. In 1815 it was united with Holland and Belgium into the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1830 this arrangement was broken up by the revolt of Belgium and a portion of Luxemburg, and in 1839 Luxemburg was divided between Holland and Belgium — the grand duchy which contains the larger portion of the country being united with Holland by a personal union. Finally, in 1867, after a long diplomatic controversy between France and Germany, the neutrality of the grand duchy was declared. Thus Luxemburg can hardly be said to have had any national life. It neither shared the French nor the German regeneration of national feeling in this century. The result of this is a degree of cosmopolitanism not generally found in Germany, and a hatred of military service, which had never been called out in behalf of their own country, but for a foreign ruling power. In spite, however, of this variety of foreign influences, the Luxemburgers have remained a comparatively distinct people, possessing their own characteristics and customs, and have remained true to the Roman Catholic church.

Luxemburgers are mostly of German descent. They are of Frankish, mixed with the Saxon stock which was introduced into this region by Charlemagne; but they also contain some French elements, brought in to re-people the country after the devastation of the Thirty Years' War.[1] The dialect is middle high German — strong and irregular, by reason of the peculiar pronunciation of the diphthongs, as well as by a coloring of neighboring idioms, especially the French.[2]

In its political history, Luxemburg has shared the experience of Europe in this century. Until the French republic proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and the destruction of feudalism, Luxemburg had retained the

[1] Schottes's *Geschichte des Luxemburger Landes*, i, p. 304.

[2] Groewigs's, *Luxemburg*, p. 6.

feudal conditions of the middle ages. The reforms of Maria Theresa were not introduced into the Netherlands, and the old privileges of the orders and cities were not interfered with.[1] During the union with Holland (1815–30), Luxemburg had much to suffer from the attempt to unite opposing elements represented in differences of public spirit, religion, language, and industries. An attempt was made to introduce the Dutch as the national language. New taxes were laid, which fell heaviest on the agricultural classes; it was these taxes, with a duty on wine, that caused the emigration to Brazil, and started the Luxemburgers across the sea.[2] In spite of these wrongs, Luxemburg owes to the union with Holland the restoration of local government and the building up of education, both of which had suffered from French influences.[3] The democratic constitution adopted by Belgium, in which freedom of the press and direct elections were established, and equality proclaimed, had a profound effect upon Luxemburg, so that when a restricted constitution was granted to the grand duchy in 1840, complaints grew so loud that it was revised in 1848.[4]

Though the emigration from Luxemburg was largely the result of economic conditions, which especially affected the agricultural classes, yet the discontent that followed the restoration in 1839, and the restricted constitution, doubtless added to the emigrating impulse. Another cause was the dislike of military service, which, as above stated, is the result of foreign rule, and the unwillingness of the people to expose their lives for a foreign nation. For that reason many young men withdrew from the Holland, and

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[1] Wolf's *Austria* (Oncken Series), p. 118.

[2] Nicholas Gonner's *Die Luxemburger in der Neuen Welt* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1889). This is a valuable work, from which I have obtained many of my facts relating to the Wisconsin immigration of Luxemburgers.

[3] Marquardsen's *Handbuch des Oeffentlichen Rechts*, Luxemburg, iv: i. 4, ii Halfte, 11–15.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 18. In the revision, censorship of the press was removed, and the suffrage greatly enlarged.

later from the Belgian, service during the wars that occurred between 1830 and 1839.

The heaviest emigration[1] from Luxemburg began in the 40's. In 1842, New York and Ohio received the most of these immigrants, but in 1845 large numbers came to Illinois and Wisconsin. The first arrivals in Wisconsin settled in Port Washington. Following them came a body of fifteen families who settled at Holy Cross, in Fredonia, Ozaukee county. One of the company had previously resided in Ohio. They were from the cantons of Redingen and Capellen, and from the province of Luxemburg, on the Belgian frontier.[2] John Longeley opened a hotel at Port Washington, and soon after some of his countrymen followed him and bought up land, which they afterwards disposed of to later immigrants. The year 1846 brought many more. Some eight or ten families bought land in the vicinity of the Lake Church (St. Mary am See), in the town of Port Washington; in the same year, many from the province of Luxemburg settled in the town of Belgium, and gave it its name. In 1847, people from the Mosel settled in Port Washington, and with them were several from Rhineland, the Eifel, Hunsrück,[3] and from the Gâ, or region between the Sauer and Mosel. Others settled near St. Nicholas, or Dacada, just over the line in Sheboygan county, where by 1848 there were nearly eighty Luxemburg families. In 1848, about eight families from Machthurn and Niederdonven, on the Mosel, in the canton of Grevenmacher, settled in Pewaukee, Waukesha county.

Thus between 1845 and 1848, perhaps a hundred and fifty or more families, chiefly from the Belgian frontier and the region of the Mosel, had settled in Wisconsin. The

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[1] They came from the villages of Türpen, Selingen, Flaxheim, Battincourt, Herzog, Kleinelter, Guirsh, Kientzig, Offen, and Sterpenich.

[2] Gonner, pp. 96, 216.

[3] The Eifel and Hunsrück much resemble the Oesling of Luxemburg. The inhabitants obtain only a scant existence by agriculture, stock raising, and mining, while many go to Holland each spring to obtain work.

settlement here was due to the favorable reports which had been circulated. A letter quoted by Gonner from the *Luxemburger Wort*,[1] says: "The State of Wisconsin is the region which the Luxemburgers prefer for settlement. The soil is productive, the climate similar to that in the grand duchy, the necessaries of life are cheap, and employment can be obtained." Another inducement for the settlement was, that the Luxemburger almost universally preferred the forest.[2] In New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin they chose woodland. The reason for this preference, aside from the desire to obtain fuel and building material, is the fact that the forests have become scarce in their native land, and a piece of woodland is regarded as a treasure; it marks the difference between the small and large peasant estates.

Owing to the failure of harvests in 1854, emigration was especially large from 1854 to 1857. It is estimated that 6,000 persons left Luxemburg at that time. A few only, remained in New York and Ohio; a large number settled near Milwaukee and along Lake Michigan; some joined the original settlers in Pewaukee, and small groups located at Luxemburg, Kewaunee county, St. Joseph's Ridge, in La Crosse county, and in the mineral region near Potosi, in southwestern Wisconsin. During the next three decades, emigration from Luxemburg continued, and Wisconsin received a considerable part of it.

At present, Luxemburgers, both from the duchy and the Belgian province, are found scattered throughout the State. The largest settlement is in the neighborhood of Port Washington. It extends northward for several miles into Sheboygan county, west from Lake Michigan, into the towns of Fredonia and Saukville, Washington county; and for several miles south of Port Washington. There are about 500 Luxemburg families in this latter locality, belonging to the four Catholic congregations of Port Wash-

[1] II jahrgang 1849, March 16 (Gonner, p. 97).

[2] Gonner, pp. 108, 109, 162.

ington, Holy Cross, St. Mary am See, and St. Nicholas church near Dacada.[1]

The early settlers in the town of Belgium were young men with little means, and nearly all of the peasant class. Port Washington has an excellent harbor, and in the early days a busy trade was carried on there. Ozaukee county was a dense, hard-wood forest, but the soil was good, and it was soon cleared. The immigrants had brought with them some tools from home, such as axes, plows, hoes, even wagons,—but they were unsuited to our soil. At first, times were hard and wages low. The settlers sold cord-wood at the piers along the lake shore. Wheat, at first their only product, brought forty or fifty cents a bushel.

The Luxemburg farms in Wisconsin are not large, owing partly to the prevalence of the old Luxemburg custom of dividing the land among the several sons; yet they are a prosperous and well-to-do people. Few American farmers now remain in that vicinity.

BAVARIA.

The kingdom of Bavaria, lying between the Alps and the Fichtel and Bohemian mountains, is an extensive plateau drained by the Danube and Maine rivers, with their tributaries. About a fourth of the country is covered with forests, which are chiefly found in Upper and Lower Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate. In the south, the land is largely used for pasturage and cattle. Most of the land owners are peasant proprietors, living in villages. Many manufactures are carried on, among them extensive glass works in the Böhmerwald. The kingdom also includes the Bavarian Palatinate, which lies on the left bank of the Rhine.

[1] Of the other groups, there are about seventy-five families located in Milwaukee, Granville, and St. Francis; perhaps thirty families in the northeastern part of Washington county; between fifty and sixty families at Theresa and Lomira; and nearly fifty families in Outagamie county, near Appleton and Kaukauna.

The inhabitants are Old Bavarians who dwell in the eastern part, in Upper and Lower Bavaria, and in the Upper Palatinate; Franks, dwelling in the west; Swabians, in Swabia and Neuberg; and Rhinelanders, on the Rhine. The Old Bavarians are a strong, simple, credulous race; they show great deference to authority, both political and ecclesiastical; until recent years, the Bavarian schools have been neglected, and education there is below the average. The Swabians are large of body, and are both more easily moved and more apt to learn than the Bavarians. The Rhenish Bavarians excel the Swabians in bodily size and versatility, and distinguish themselves by the spirit of undertaking. The Lutheran is the state church of Bavaria, but the Catholic population is very large.

The largest Bavarian groups in Wisconsin are from the vicinity of the village of Wunsiedel, near Baireuth, in the Fichtel mountains, where small farms exist; from the Bohemian mountains near Eger and Zwiesel, and from the forests of Lower Bavaria; there are also many from Rhenish Bavaria and other parts of the country. They are located in Jefferson, Dane, Sauk, and Manitowoc counties; in the cities of Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, and Appleton, and along the Wisconsin Central railway, north of Stevens Point.

In Dane county, the Bavarians are located in the towns of Roxbury, Cross Plains, and the city of Madison, these settlements being formed in the 40's.

About the same time, a Bavarian settlement was made at Columbus, early known as New Franken.

In Jefferson county, there is a large group located in the city and town of Jefferson, and in the towns of Aztalan, Farmington, and Hebron. They are from the vicinity of Wunsiedel, in the province of Oberfranken, and first came to Wisconsin in 1847, continuing the immigration until 1860. A Lutheran church was organized in 1851, with 64 members; in 1857 the same congregation numbered 108 families, of whom a part were North Germans. There are now about a hundred Bavarian Lutheran families in that vicinity, and

many more who are Catholics. In Germany, these people were peasants and mechanics; here, they are mostly farmers, living on their own land. Between 1845 and 1854, about fifteen families from the Rhenish Palatinate located in Watertown and vicinity; about eight families still remain, who are connected with the Catholic church.

In Menasha, a German Catholic congregation of about 250 families contains a large Bavarian element. They arrived in Menasha about 1858. Many of them are still there, working in the paper mills and factories; others have settled on farms in the vicinity of Neenah.

In Appleton and vicinity, besides the large number of Rhenish Prussians, there are many Bavarians and German Bohemians, from the vicinity of Zwiesel, Carlsbad, Eger, and Folkenow, on the border line between Bavaria and Bohemia. As many as fifty families are located in the third and fourth wards of Appleton; another group from the same locality, is to be found in the Sugar Bush settlement, near Seymour; still others are to be found in Buchanan. The Bavarian forest land near Zwiesel is poor soil, and many of the immigrants to Outagamie county had been employed in the glass factories and grist mills of that part of Bavaria; they rarely brought means with them. German Bohemians from the same locality have also settled in Greenville, Ellington, and Center, in the same county.

In the Catholic churches of Oshkosh, there are between 400 and 500 Bavarians and German Bohemians. A few Bavarians are also found in the Lutheran churches.

In Leroy, Dodge county, a Bavarian settlement was formed about 1861, consisting of perhaps eleven or twelve families from the Upper Palatinate and Lower Bavaria.

A more recent immigration from Bavaria, is that into north-central Wisconsin, which occurred between 1879 and 1889. This movement was due largely to the efforts of Kent K. Kennan and Johann B. Ferstl. According to Mr. Kennan's statement, Zwiesel was the center of the Wisconsin emigration which he induced. The people came

from the Bavarian forests, northwest of Munich.[1] They were peasants, woodcutters, mill-laborers, and handicrafts-men of various sorts—said to be strong, hardy folk, better adapted than the Swiss to life in the forests, and especially better for that life than the so-called *fabrikarbeiter* from the cities. It is roughly estimated that about 5,000 Germans settled in the State, especially along the Wisconsin Central railway, in Clark, Taylor, Price, and Ashland counties, and that nine-tenths were from Bavaria.

The causes of this Bavarian emigration, according to Ferstl, were three: (1) The low wages for laborers, especially in the forest regions of *Nieder Bayern:* (2) the unproductiveness (*Unrentabilität*) of agriculture; (3) the constant dread of war.[2] The low rates of travel at that time, were also a special inducement.[3] Nearly all paid their own fare to Wisconsin; the majority brought means enough to buy land, while the rest were obliged to earn their farms. Nearly all were particular to settle near their own people; they came in groups of several families from the same locality. Once or twice a year, Kennan personally conducted parties of emigrants to the State.[4] While the Bavarian element doubtless predominates among these people, there are also many Austrians and Swiss, and representatives of all parts of Germany.[5]

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[1] Letters were written for *Der Ansiedler*, of Milwaukee, by men from villages near Teplitz, Bohemia; Schattau, Mähren, Austria, and Heidenreichstein, Lower Austria; and from Unter-Franken, Bavaria.

[2] Most of those who came to Wisconsin had performed military service.

[3] A notice in *Der Ansiedler* of June 15, 1881, announces that tickets from Antwerp to Milwaukee, were for sale at their office for $39.

[4] For example, in the fall of 1881 a body of 150 persons accompanied him, and were soon followed by 75 others. Some went to Black Creek Falls and Butternut, but the majority remained in the immigrant house at Medford, waiting to buy land in that locality, or to find employment.

[5] So far, I have been unable, except to a limited extent, to locate the miscellaneous German groups. Many settled in the western part of Marathon county, with those already mentioned. In 1881 and 1882, a sawmill was built by a Medford firm, at Bruckerville, a small town four miles east of Dorchester; about it, as in all those northern towns, a black-

The majority of them are Catholics — altogether there are over 1,100 Catholic families, or between 5,000 and 6,000 people; of these, 572 families settled in Wood county, chiefly at Marshfield, and 185 in Clark county. There are also nine Lutheran societies, which are comparatively small — Black Creek Falls (about 40 families), Dorchester, Colby, Stetsonville, Medford, Whittlesey, Chelsea, town of Brannon, Phillips, Butternut (35 families), Glidden (25 families), Ashland, Shell Lake, and Deer Park.

BADEN.

Baden includes three districts, — the Black Forest, Odenwald, and the eastern valley of the Rhine. It contains a greater proportion of forest land than any other part of Germany, and eighty per cent of the territory is mountainous. While the inhabitants of the forest are less versatile and enlightened than those of the Rhine valley, they are more powerful, moral, and contented — but, except in the Odenwald, not so well-to-do. The Lutheran is the state

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smith shop, some stores, and a few houses collected, and it became a post-office and market. A letter from a German farmer in that region, dated October, 1882, mentions six families from the neighborhood of Teplitz, Bohemia, who had settled between Dorchester and Poniatowski. At Bruckerville, there were also several Saxon families. A Bavarian from Unter-Franken writes in *Der Ansiedler* for April 1, 1881, from Poniatowski, that many relatives and friends have settled with him. Letters to the same paper, of February 1, 1882, mention three families from Schattau, Mähren, Austria, and one from Heidenreichstein, Lower Austria, settled at Black Creek Falls and Dorchester. According to a letter to *Der Ansiedler* for February 15, 1883, there is at Little Black River, south of Medford, a German settlement composed of people from Westphalia, Saxony, Würtemburg, and Austria. Many German settlers in northern Wisconsin are from the southern part of this State. In both Butternut, Ashland county, and Black Creek Falls, Marathon county, there are about 20 families from near Milwaukee. At Whittlesey, Taylor county, there are some six families from Sheboygan. At Butternut and Glidden, besides the West Prussians mentioned above, there are some Saxons, and from eight to sixteen families of Bavarians in each. In Fifield, there are some German Bohemians.

church, but the Roman Catholics greatly outnumber the Protestants, and are strongest in the south.

Emigration from Baden received a great impulse from the Revolution of 1848. Baden was one of the first countries to be affected by the French Revolution, not only because of its proximity to that country, but from the "tendencies of the lively and susceptible race that inhabit it."[1]

Some of this emigration came to Wisconsin — there being two important groups, so far as I can ascertain, in Marion, Grant county, and Eaton, Manitowoc county. The former settlement was made in 1854 by stone-cutters and masons from Heidelberg and Freiburg. In 1847, several men with their families, hoping for better economic conditions in the new world, left Heidelberg with scarcely more than enough means to carry them across the ocean. They settled in Ulster, New York, where they found work in the quarries. In 1849, a second body of men who had been engaged in the revolutionary uprisings, stole out of Germany into France, and with their families sailed to America and joined the first group in Ulster. Among these were men of some means, who brought with them several hundred dollars apiece. In 1851, a third body of men from Heidelberg, hearing good reports from the earlier emigrants, came to Lancaster, Grant county, Wisconsin. The New York settlers worked there until 1854, but fearing that the quarries would be exhausted, and desirous of owning land, began to search for a suitable locality. Having heard of the good lands, water, and timber of Wisconsin, they sent two of their number, Christopher Brechler and Joseph Heim, to visit the State and report. They came to Mineral Point, where one of the land offices was located, and thence went out to Marion, where they found wood, water, and climate much like that in their German homes. They did not wish prairie land, and this locality was much to their taste. The committee bought enough government land for all their friends. Returning to New York, their report was satis-

[1] Sybel's *Founding of the German Empire*, i, p. 147.

factory, and in the fall of 1854 all of the New York settlers sold out and came to Wisconsin. The same year, the emigrants of 1851 to Lancaster, joined the other party in Marion. Since 1854, this settlement has drawn steadily from different parts of Germany, and now numbers between 200 and 225 individuals. They have bought all the farms that have been offered for sale, gradually taking possession of land once owned by Americans. Their farms, it is reported, range from 80 to 600 acres, the average being perhaps 300 acres. Their houses, fences, and stock are all good, and they have particularly fine horses. New land is constantly broken, and everything is done with characteristic thoroughness. This is a distinctively German community; its members intermarry with Germans, maintain their own schools, and teach their children to speak German. The people belong to two congregations,— a German Presbyterian and a Lutheran; the former maintain a church and minister in their own locality, while the Lutherans attend the church at Boscobel.

In the same year (1854), a Baden community of a very different character was formed in Wisconsin — the St. Nazianz colony, in the town of Eaton, Manitowoc county. Not long after the revolution of 1848, when a spirit of restlessness pervaded Baden, and economic conditions were unusually oppressive, a large body of German Catholics from different parts of the country, — the Black Forest, Klettgau, Breisgau, Schwabia, and Odenwald,— assembled under the leadership of Rev. Ambros Oschwald, a Catholic priest from the district of Freiburg, and emigrated to America. This movement was due to overpopulation, and, as they claimed, to the vexations suffered under Protestant rule — but more especially to the desire to form in America a free Roman Catholic community after their own ideas. It was their common sympathy with the peculiar doctrines taught by their leader, that brought them together. He held the idea of the early apostles as to community of goods, and preached as Paul did concerning marriage,— urging a single life for those not already

married. His book, written in support of these ideas, was condemned by the Catholic authorities, but he found a body of sympathizers who followed him to America. They numbered 114 persons, among whom were several families.

Before starting for their new home, they formed a voluntary association[1] called the "Colony of St. Nazianz," named after a Greek saint, and adopted regulations for their government. They agreed to be ruled by an "ephorate," or senate, of twelve members (the manner of appointment is not stated) and the presiding priest, who should act as directors of their public affairs, settling disputes, and watching over the morality of the members. Their plan was to live as much as possible in common, and land was to be held as common property. In the spring of 1854 they left Germany, having as their destination Milwaukee, where Oschwald had a letter to Bishop Henni from the archbishop of Freiburg. German Catholics, their chronicle[2] states, were then flocking to the Western states, and the immigration to Wisconsin received a great impulse after the arrival of Henni in Milwaukee. Reaching Milwaukee in August, a house was purchased by their leader for $900; this was intended to shelter the party until the way was opened for their settlement. Soon negotiations for land were entered into, and Oschwald purchased 3,840 acres from Milwaukee agents at $3.50 an acre, paying $1,500 down. Six men were then sent out with the land-dealers to find the site. They went by boat to Manitowoc, and thence across the country, at that time a dense wilderness. There the rest of the colony joined them, and by dint of hard work the soil was at last brought under cultivation.

In their new home they proceeded to carry out their ideas. The single men and women were to live in separate houses or cloisters; two such were built of beams and plaster, as was the custom in Germany. It was their plan

[1] The articles to which the members gave their assent, were probably drawn up by their leader, and submitted to them for approval.

[2] A pamphlet account of the affairs of the community, covering the years 1854–1866.

to make themselves independent of the outside world; accordingly, they raised all their own food products and manufactured their own clothing. Peace reigned in the community until the death of their leader, when some difficulties arose concerning the property. It had been held by Oschwald in his own name, and at his death he willed it to the community; but the will was found to be invalid in court, since the society had never been incorporated and was thus incapable of inheriting property. To obviate this difficulty, they proceeded to incorporate the community as the "Roman Catholic Religious Society;" then each member sued the estate for his past services; judgment was allowed and papers were made out, assigning the property to the society.

They are now governed by a board of trustees elected annually by the adult members, both men and women. This board consists of three men and three women, and the presiding priest *ex officio*. They are neither favored nor condemned by the church authorities here. They still wear the German peasant dress, live as they did in the "Fatherland," and in all respects are a simple, primitive, and extremely religious people. Three religious services are held each day. At present they number about 200 adults. To recruit their numbers, orphan children are adopted into the community; but there are few of these, and the society does not seem destined to a long life.

SWISS SETTLEMENTS.

The Swiss in Wisconsin, according to the census of 1890, number 7,181. There are several large groups in the State, from various cantons, located chiefly in Green, Buffalo, Sauk, Fond du Lac, and Taylor counties.

One of the most interesting German settlements in Wisconsin is that of the Swiss in New Glarus, Green county.[1]

[1] The history of this settlement is interestingly and carefully told by John Luchsinger, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii. It is from this source that I have taken the facts related here.

It is notable because of the manner in which the immigration was conducted. Its cause was the business depression that began in Germany about 1844, and "overpopulation in an unfertile country." Land had been divided and subdivided, as population increased. In the canton of Glarus, from which this colony came, the land is allotted in small portions to each citizen for cultivation, and when one emigrates he receives the value of his allotment, as well as the value of his interest in the rest of the common property. This virtually puts a premium on emigration. When the distress had become unendurable, it was decided to attempt organized emigration. A public meeting was held at Schwanden, at which it was decided to ask the co-operation of the government of the canton. This was successful, and fifteen hundred florins were appropriated for the purpose of sending two men to select a suitable tract of land for a colony. An emigration society was formed, and Nicholas Duerst and Fridolin Streiff were selected to choose the land. They were to find a locality similar in climate, soil, and general characteristics to their home in Switzerland, also suitable for raising stock and vegetables, and enough of it so that each colonist who contributed sixty florins might have twenty acres of land.

In March, 1845, they came to America. After searching in vain through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, they at length, in August, 1845, found a tract in Green county, Wisconsin, which answered their purpose; it was within thirty-five miles of Mineral Point, then a good market. They bought twelve hundred acres of farm land, and eighty acres of timber.

Meanwhile, the people at home were restless; and to avoid the breaking up of the society it was decided to migrate in April, 1845, instead of waiting until the following year. One hundred and ninety-three persons collected for this emigration, although only 140 had been expected and provided for. Before starting they chose George Legler and Jacob Grob as leaders. After a long journey, with many hard experiences, they reached Baltimore the last

of June. From there they went to St. Louis, where they were to await reports from Duerst and Streiff. They rented two houses for temporary shelter, and hearing nothing from their delegates sent two men in search of them. At length, in the middle of August, the colonists reached their destination in Wisconsin. They then numbered only 108, the rest having left from discouragement or to obtain work. Before winter, sixteen log huts were erected. Many had brought furniture and tools, which proved very useful at a time when they were unable to purchase. To tide them over the first year, a thousand dollars was sent them from Switzerland. The land for cultivation was divided among the colonists by lot; but the timber land was held in common. Stock was purchased of drovers from Ohio. The first few years proved difficult, partly on account of their ignorance of American methods of farming. In Switzerland, the land was not adapted to raising grain, and the use of horses and plows was impossible; but with the assistance of American farmers in the vicinity, the emigrants learned to cultivate the land. They early betook themselves to dairying and cattle raising, for which their training had best fitted them; cheese-making is one of the most important industries. Their settlement has proved a success in every way, by reason of the industry and thrift of the people.

The Crimean War, in 1854, brought many more Swiss to Wisconsin, from Glarus and other cantons, and a large proportion of them settled in Green county. In that county alone, it is claimed, the Swiss now number with their descendants over 8,000 persons, and comprise about a third of the population. Their language is the German-Swiss dialect, which is still used in business affairs. The people belong to the German Reformed faith, which was their religion in Switzerland.

Buffalo county contains a large German element, which is predominantly Swiss. Settlement was begun about 1846–47 by some Germans from Galena, Illinois, who were employed by Capt. D. S. Harris, of that town, to cut wood for the

passing steamboats on the Mississippi. Among them was one Swiss family from Graubünden, which is the canton now most largely represented in Buffalo county. They settled at Fountain City (then Holmes's Landing), and were then the only white settlers in that locality. From 1848 to 1855, a few Germans came in each year, and all were engaged in chopping wood. In 1855 the real immigration began; some went by way of Galena, others crossed over from Sauk county, while the rest went directly from Milwaukee by means of ox-teams. The attractions to the Swiss were the excellent soil, the springs of fresh water, and the good pastures, all of which reminded them of their native land. They are located chiefly in townships along the Mississippi River.

In Fond du Lac county, in the town of Ashford, and adjoining it on the south in Washington county, is a group of Swiss who are from the canton of St. Gallen. The first came directly to Wisconsin in the spring of 1847; and between that year and 1856, the majority settled in that locality. They were, with few exceptions, of the peasant class, and here they own farms of from 40 to 160 acres each.

In Sauk county, the towns of Troy, Honey Creek, and Prairie du Sac contain a large Swiss element from the cantons of Graubünden, Zürich, and Bern. They belong to the German Methodist and German Reformed churches.

Among the South Germans in north-central Wisconsin, are also a number of Swiss.

SAXONY.[1]

Among the Wisconsin Germans, there are in almost every community a number of Saxons. In addition to these, Saxon groups have located in Ozaukee, Washington, Sheboygan, and Manitowoc counties. In August, 1839, three Saxon families, possessing considerable means,[2] took up govern-

[1] The diversity of conditions in Saxony makes any special account of German life impracticable.

[2] These families were those of Adolph Zimmerman, afterwards member of the State legislature (1870, 1873–74), and two Opitz brothers.

ment land in what is now Ozaukee county. Two or three years later, other Saxons followed them, while still others settled in the town of Mequon, on the old Green Bay road. In September, 1839, seven families, with thirty-six individuals, came from Sax-Altenburg, in the duchy of Saxony, and bought a half section in the same town. Andrew Geitel acted as their leader, and made the purchase.

In Farmington, Washington county, there is a large Saxon element. In 1857, they formed a "Humanitäts Verein" for social, literary, and benevolent purposes. The town contained at one time a German library of 300 or 400 books.

It was probably the influence of Frederick Burchhardt,[1] in Manitowoc. that induced about fifteen families from the vicinity of Kuehmnitz, Saxony, to settle in the town of Mischicott, between 1846 and 1849. A part of the town was, from this fact, called Saxenburg. These people were linen weavers, innkeepers, landed proprietors, etc., but here they became, for the most part, farmers. All members of the group were Lutherans.

In Mosel, Sheboygan county, and Centreville, Manitowoc county, there is a large Saxon settlement, which started about 1847. Its members are from Sachsen-Weimar and Sachsen-Gotha, where they were farm laborers and shepherds; a musical society and Turnverein are supported by them; they are divided between the Lutheran and Catholic churches.

In the towns of Medina, Vinland, Wolf River, and Winneconne, in Winnebago county, there is a scattered Saxon settlement which was formed between 1850 and 1856. Here, the Lutheran faith prevails.

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[1] Burchhardt was himself a native of Kuehmnitz, and coming to Manitowoc in the early days, rose to a position of prominence.

FROM OTHER STATES.

PENNSYLVANIA GROUP.

In the city of Marathon, there is a German settlement composed of men from Pittsburg. About 1856, a society known as the "Homestead Verein" was formed by L. W. Koltenbeck, editor of a German republican paper in Pittsburg. It consisted of about one hundred and twenty-eight members, mostly factory hands and day-laborers, who had recently come over from Würtemberg, Baden, Westphalia, and Bavaria. They were nearly all Catholics, and as members of the same church were associated in Pittsburg. That city was crowded, employment was scarce, and they were anxious to better their condition by seeking a home in the West. Accordingly they sent Koltenbeck and another of their members, a shopkeeper, to look up a suitable place for founding a small village, with farm lands adjoining. The committee seem to have started without any definite point in view, and probably came to Wisconsin because the Germans were at that time settling here in large numbers. They chose eight hundred acres in Marathon county, including the site of the present Marathon, which they purchased from a law firm in Stevens Point. Meanwhile, in the absence of the committee, the society heard glowing reports of land in Minnesota, and, but for Koltenbeck, would have chosen the present site of St. Cloud. They had also under consideration the city of Appleton, Wisconsin, or some part of Outagamie county. When Koltenbeck returned and announced his purchase, a split occurred in the society, some leaving on account of dissatisfaction over the conditions of the purchase. The remaining members continued in the society, and sent Valentine Christmann and Joseph Kapp to complete Koltenbeck's purchase. They were instructed to secure enough more land, so that each member might have 80 acres and three city lots, each one paying for his share $125 in monthly installments. In the winter of 1856 and

1857, the city was surveyed and platted, and in 1857 the first settlers arrived; among these, the names of eighteen men are still recalled by old settlers. In 1858, the majority of those who were still in Pittsburg packed up and came to Marathon. Bringing some machinery with them, a saw-mill was soon after built, although the dam was not completed until 1869. Since then a grist, a planing, and a second saw-mill have been constructed. The other principal business of the community is farming. Marathon is an exceedingly quiet town, slow but prosperous, and the ruling element is German.

OHIO GROUP.

In the town of Dale, Outagamie county, there is a large group of Germans who came to Wisconsin from Ohio. They were originally from the Rhine provinces and the borders of France, and first settled in Pennsylvania, near Reading. From there they went to Ohio, where they settled in the towns of Richland, Medina, and Ashland, in Columbia county.

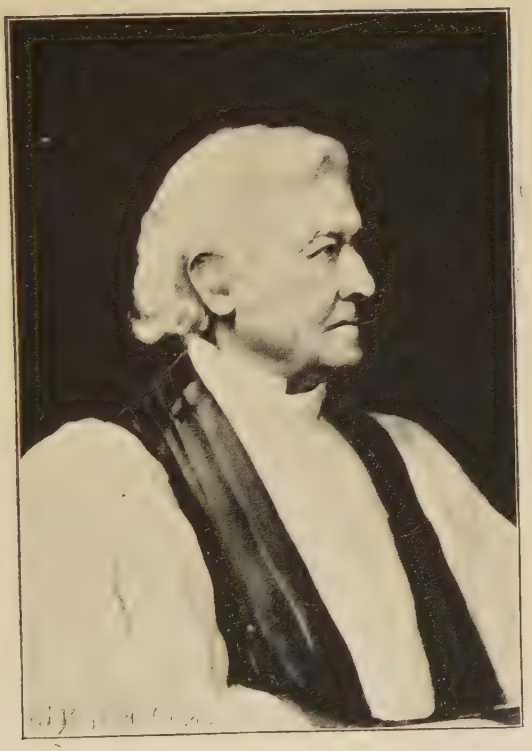
In 1853, eight young men from this settlement took their stock and went westward. Six of them became discouraged and remained in Indiana; the other two came to Wisconsin, and located in the town of Dale. Others followed them from Ohio, between the years 1853 and 1855, until about forty families settled in that town. They have grown strong enough to sustain two congregations, one of the Lutheran and the other of the German Reformed faith. They are an intelligent people, and are said to preserve the German spirit and language with much zeal.

JOURNAL OF AN EPISCOPALIAN MISSIONARY'S TOUR TO GREEN BAY, 1834.

BY JACKSON KEMPER, D.D.[1]

1834 July 3d. Started for Green Bay from home soon after 9. Conversation with Lownsbury conc[erning] Ab-

[1] Jackson Kemper, D. D., was born at Pleasant Valley, Dutchess county, N. Y., Dec. 24, 1789. His grandfather (born at Caub, on the Rhine) had been an officer in the army of the Palatine, and emigrated to America in 1741, soon after settling in Dutchess county; his son, Daniel Kemper (father of our diarist), was a colonel in the Revolutionary army. The future bishop (baptized David Jackson, but later dropping the first name) was graduated from Columbia college in 1809, as valedictorian of his class. As soon as he had reached the canonical age of 21 (in 1811), he was ordained deacon in Philadelphia, and became assistant to Bishop White, having charge of three parishes in that city — a position held till June, 1831, a period of twenty years; he had been ordained priest in 1814. In vacation periods (1812, 1814, 1819, and 1820), he served as border missionary, doing excellent work for the church in the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and eastern Ohio. In June, 1831, he became rector at Norwalk, Conn., there losing his second wife (Nov., 1832); his first wife, Jerusha Lyman, of Philadelphia, had lived but two years after their marriage in 1816; the second, Ann Relf, also of Philadelphia, he married in October, 1821 — she left a daughter and two sons. In 1834, he undertook for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a trip to Wisconsin, to report on the establishment founded by Rev. Richard F. Cadle, the record of which is contained in the present journal. At the general convention of the American church, in 1835, Dr. Kemper was elected its first missionary bishop, his field being the "Northwest," out of which have since been formed the dioceses of Missouri, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. Early in the winter of 1835, he reached St. Louis, which was his headquarters — he can scarcely be said at that time to have had a home, and indeed throughout much of the remainder of his life he wandered far and wide



Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, D. D.

From oil portrait by J. R. Stuart, in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

bott. at New York (say 55 miles) by 2. at Dr. Milnor's[1] met Van Pelt[2] at Swords. Recd from Blake letters etc & a bundle for the Cadles. Started at 5 in Ohio crowded boat — introduced to Col. Stone & wife, ed. of N. York Commercial. Saw Rev Mr Nichols at boat. Poor berth — little sleep — bad arrangement of captain

4. Boots cleaned very near us. at 2 oc[lock] — little boy dressed up in full costume of a highlander. At Albany, 145

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upon his laborious mission; "his saddle-bags contained his worldly goods,— his robes, his communion service, his Bible, and his prayer-book." He removed his headquarters to Wisconsin in the autumn of 1844, purchasing lands adjacent to the newly-founded church institution at Nashotah; here, in a humble cottage, he gathered his children to him, the first time since the old home had been broken up in 1832. In 1854, he was elected bishop of Wisconsin, but still insisted on remaining a missionary, and for four years thereafter traveled much in Indian Territory and Kansas. He died May 24, 1870, in the 81st year of his age, and was deeply mourned by his people throughout the country, especially in the West.

In publishing the diary of Dr. Kemper, on his visit to Wisconsin in 1834,— previous to his consecration as missionary bishop of the Northwest,— we have deemed it best to eliminate some portions as being of too private a nature for publication here; otherwise, however, the journal is given exactly as in the original note-book before us. The entries were written in lead pencil, now somewhat blurred in places, and evidently always in a hurry — hence the numerous contractions and often jerky style; but despite these, this journal is of great value as a contemporaneous picture of the times, and forms an interesting contribution to the existing material for Wisconsin history. All of the bishop's journals, covering a period from 1834 to about 1850, are the property of his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Kemper Adams, of Nashotah, who has temporarily deposited the most of them in the archives of this Society. We hope, in later volumes of these Collections, to present further installments thereof. In the *Nashotah Scholiast*, Dec., 1883–July, 1884, were published such extracts from the Kemper diaries (years 1841–49) as touched upon the beginnings of Nashotah; in the same journal, Oct., 1884–June, 1885, were given extracts covering some of the bishop's missionary trips in the southwest (1837–38). The present journal of 1834 has not heretofore been printed.— Ed.

[1] Rev. James Milnor, D. D., of New York, one of the trustees of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was Kemper's companion on this trip.— Ed.

[2] Rev. Peter Van Pelt, secretary of the D. & F. M. Society.— Ed

miles by 7 oc[lock] breakfast at Crittendens, Eagle tavern. Started at 9 in railroad cars 15 miles to Schenectady at ½ past 10 Gen. Stevenson & Major Tuttle on car. 15 miles. Waited here some time & then started in a stage most heavily loaded with mail bags — with Major Kirby of Brownsville, Prof. Beauford of West Point & Mr [George W.] Lay & wife of Batavia, member of Congress

7 started at ½ past 4 — this an uninteresting country — a poor breakfast at Genesee falls —— miles — then —— miles to Geneva on its beautiful lake. Canandaigua lake yet more beautiful. Cayuga & Geneva lakes 40 miles long Mr Lay's statements of slavery in the district — 3 Talbooths, he implored to purchase a man & his family. A rich man 7 miles from Washington

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sale of slaves — of own children — of dgs [daughters] for licentiousness — Plummers purchase Afternoon very hot. Mrs Davis from Liberia in stage — her story doubtful. Mr Snow & two ladies. Heard that Goold Hoyt & family at Avon. arrived at Le Roy near 8 oc[lock].

8 Started early from Le Roy Story of Mrs. Davis not very consistent — the landlord refused to take any money for her.

An inhabitant of Le Roy in the stage with us who affirmed that the Jackson, but not Jackson Van Buren party was increasing in his & the neighboring counties. He thinks the opposition to the Bank in this part of the State is likewise on the increase

10 Slept but little last night, owing I think to pain in the stomach from drinking too much water in consequence of the heat. Rose early & wrote to Lilly, Jane,[1] & Ingrahim for whom I will leave 5 dollars to be laid out in

[1] Dr. Kemper's three motherless children, Elizabeth (then aged 10), Samuel (aged 7), and Lewis (aged 5), were at Norwalk, Conn., in charge of their maternal grandmother, Mrs. Relf. Elizabeth is referred to in the diary by the pet names, "Lill" and "Lilly;" she now resides at Nashotah, the widow of Rev. Dr. William Adams, one of the founders of Nashotah House. Samuel Relf Kemper is now living in Milwaukee. Rev. Lewis Ashhurst

specimens & an herbarium for the children. Called after breakfast on Rev Mr Shelton & at the post office, but no letter. We started at 9 in the Michigan,[1] 470 tons built at Detroit & made there except the cylinders, travels generally 12 miles per hour, but today, owing to head wind did not go so fast. Has two engines each 80 horse power. Dr. M[ilnor] & I have berths No 1 & 2, we each pay to Green Bay 25 dollars. An upper deck extends the whole length of the boat affording a fine promenade. The boat is by no means crowded, about ½ are steerage passengers. The meals are very good, there was no drinking at table or sitting after dinner was over. Dinner at 1 & tea at 5. About 6 we stopt at Erie & landed a few passengers. The light houses & harbour. The place appears inferior to B. [Buffalo]. We have on board Mr & Mrs Wadsworth & Miss Fisher, Gov Clark,[2] Gen Ashley[3] of St Louis & lady, Mr & Mrs [Daniel] Whitney of Green Bay, the Drs nephew, Hoffman, St. Clair, Murray of New York, Dr. Beaumont[4]

Kemper, D. D., died in 1886. Col. Daniel Kemper, father of our diarist, was then living at New Brunswick, N. J., with his two unmarried daughters, Jane and Eliza; the former is the "Jane" here referred to.— Ed.

[1] The same boat on which Captain Marryat sailed, three years later. See *ante*, p. 137, *note*.— Ed.

[2] Gen. William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, and associated with Capt. Merriwether Lewis in the Rocky Mountain expedition of 1804. At this time (1834) he was superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis. He died in 1838.— Ed.

[3] Gen. William H. Ashley (born about 1778, died 1838) had been an enterprising fur-trader, who in 1822 organized a company of 300 men which conducted trade with the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. He retired with a fortune, and at this period (1834) represented Missouri in congress.— Ed.

[4] Dr. William Beaumont was an army surgeon. While stationed at Mackinac in 1822, he was called to treat a young man named Alexis St. Martin, who had received a gunshot wound in his left side. The wound healed, but there remained a fistulous opening into the stomach, two and a half inches in diameter, through which Beaumont could watch the process of digestion. His experiments regarding the digestibility of different kinds of foods, and the properties of the gastric juice, were continued through several years — indeed, until Beaumont's death (1853); but the

&c. Dr. B. states the natural temperature of stomach to be 100. His description of his patient & the interior of his stomach. Mrs. A. a descendent of Pocahontas. The Holland land company purchased Rob[ert] Morris' preemption right[1] to 3½ miles of acres, being the N. W. corner of the State — belonged to Senecas, which include Cattaragus, Buffalos &c. A black eagle on board as large as a turkey & only a month old. A band of music. Brilliant sunset. New Moon & venus. Water ruffled all day, but now very quiet. Appearance of deck in the evening. The band consists of six Learnt the other day from Major Kirby that he knows of two most promising officers & good scholars, who were the sons of privates, taken up & prepared by officers & then sent to West Point This fact is a proof that it is not an aristocratic institution. Buffalo had 9 years ago 6,000, now 12,000 inhabitants. Chautauqua Lake 15 miles from Dunkirk is 726 feet above lake Erie.

11. I find there is already a map of Chicago. There is to be on the British side of the falls a city to be called the City of the Falls. We have on board about 60 cabin & 70 steerage passengers — the latter have the full privilege of the decks, there are among them several families with children — all of them slept on the deck. I walked thro them after 10 oc[lock] They pay 1.00 to Detroit & find themselves. This morning at ½ past 4 we left Fairport on Grand river where we were detained some time taking on wood. I slept but little, the rolling or rather pitching of the boat & the constant jar caused by the machinery near to wh[ich] our berths are kept me awake or at least caused me often to rouse up.

Conversed with Gen Ashley he was anxious a strip of

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first publication of results was made in 1833, and at once gave Beaumont an international reputation among scientists. Through several years, Beaumont (who resigned from the army in 1839) was stationed at Fort Crawford, where many of his experiments were conducted.— Ed.

[1] For particulars of the disposition of "Morris's Reserve," see Turner's *History of the Holland Purchase* (Buffalo, 1850), pp. 396 et seq.— Ed.

land say 30 miles wide sh[oul]d separate the Indians in their new settlements from the whites, this has not been done & the settlers are already doing injury — he hopes it still may be. All the Indians S of the Missouri & W of the Miss are if possible to be gathered there, that at least is the design of Government. Gen A. has never been to the Pacific, but to the great salt lake between the Colorado of the West wh[ich] empties into the Gulf of California & the Columbia. Many rivers pour into the salt lake. West of it for 80 miles the land is barren & encrusted with salt. The Buffalo are not yet so far W. In Gen Clarks times (his travels, he is now on board a stout, white haired man) they had not reached the Rocky Mountains. 80 miles from Salt lake is a chain of mountains covered almost the whole year with snow. The Gen[eral] had in that country 200 hunters & 700 horses The most valuable skin is the beaver Some of the hunters have been in that country 9 years & will never return There small tribes of Indians are to be found. Some are very remarkable, living on roots, going naked &c for instance the black feet. Ashleys company do not purchase from the Indians but obtain the skins by their own hunting. In August 3 men & 7 horses loaded with hay &c crossed the mountains spoken of & were almost starved; 4 of the horses died & the stout men & the rest of the horses were reduced to skeletons.

At Cleveland after breakfast walked thro the town, delivered letters went to the Canal wh[ich] commences here. This place increasing rapidly. Now perhaps 3000 inha[bitant]s, doubled in 2 or 3 yrs. The trade of the lake has increased 15 fold in the last 6 years. No good harbours on this lake. This, & Buffalo, Erie & Huron artificial.

Dr Beaumont on board — his book, bot it at Cleveland

At Huron between 3 & 4, a small & very new place, but increasing

Looked over our papers. We shall have much to do. Whitney on board has at least kind feelings towards Wil-

liams.[1] & thinks the school shd not be removed from Green Bay & that it is near enough to the Indians

Talked with Gen Clark concerning his Tour, 30 yrs since, when Louisana was ceded to U. S. Talked with Mrs. A conc[erning] Chaderton & religion. Does not know C. but respects him — has a pew in his ch. Spoke well of Howly.

My map very good & much used. At Huron went S. part of lake, then came to bay of Sandusky, Croghans scene of victory.[2] Then nearly N. W. passed Cunningham's Island, then 3 Bass Islands, in the S of wh is put in Bay where Perry was when he heard the British had sailed. Then the 3 sisters, near the middle of wh the Battle took place.[3] Beautiful sunset but not so brilliant as last night. Emotions of awe, gratitude & praise. Approaching Detroit river. Many of those who thought of going on will leave us at Detroit. A son of Charles King, an engineer on board from Cleveland, intelligent. Maumee river near the end of the lake. Expect to be at Detroit at midnight. Care of the sick Englishman a coppersmith, gave him 1.00

12 I walked the deck again last night & saw the people sleeping there but not so many as the night before. About 11 oc[lock] the boat arrived at Detroit & was immediately visited by many of its inhabitants, the meeting of friends was loud & boistrous & much drinking apparently & some swearing took place. I was in my first slumber & was greatly disturbed. At half past 3 I again awoke in consequence of loud talking. The river appeared about a mile

[1] Eleazer Williams, who in 1826 had been admitted to deacon's orders in the P. E. church, and was at this time serving as missionary to the Oneida Indians, under license from the D. & F. M. Society. He was, however, looked upon askance by many of the officers of the church. This was several years before Williams posed as the dauphin of France. For a clear and conclusive account of Williams's singular career, see Wright's "Eleazer Williams," *Parkman Club Pubs.*, i, pp. 133 et seq.— Ed.

[2] Aug. 1 and 2, 1813, Col. George Croghan gallantly defended Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, against a superior force under the British General Proctor.— Ed.

[3] Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's celebrated victory at Put-in-bay was won Sept. 15, 1813.— Ed.

wide, two steam ferry boats are constantly crossing & re-crossing, the banks were bold, perhaps 20 feet high. Learnt from Gov Clarke that Gen Rullon[1] on board & now an inhabitant of St. Louis, was born & brot up near Detroit, & in the last war had his wife & children murdered by the Indians. This is his first visit here for 18 yrs. Gov C. thinks Hull was not a coward but was afraid for the peoples sake of the cruelty of the Indians. Many however think Hull was overcome by fear. Mr. Whipple says he knows he turned pale while the tobacco juice ran out of both corners of his mouth when the force of the enemy was mentioned.

After breakfast Dr. M. & myself walked to Mr. Searles,[2] who recd us very aff[ab]ly. He keeps bachelors hall and has two men servants. We walked out with him to Judge —— Mr. [John] Biddles, Trowbridges, the cathedral, Pres minister, Major Whitney, Norvels &c. Mr. [Charles C.] Trowbridge, Mr. Whittier, [John] Norvel &c called upon us. Saw Mr. [Stevens T.] Mason Sec. of Territory & acting Gov in consequence of death of Gov [George B.] Porter buried last week. A long broad street forms the principal part of the town. 6 yrs. ago it had 2500 inhbs, now 6 [thousand]. Value of property & no [number] inhabs increasing rapidly. Founded in 1607,[3] improved however but little until lately. The inhabs quite polished. The ch[urch] is enlarging & now cannot be used. All we have seen speak highly of Cadle[4] & were delighted with Bp McIlvaines[5] visit.

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[1] Apparently John Ruland, who was a Detroit volunteer under Governor Cass, in 1814.— Ed.

[2] Rev. Addison Searle was then rector of St. Paul's church, the first P. E. parish in Detroit.— Ed.

[3] A slip on the part of our diarist. Detroit was established by Cadillac in 1701. See *ante*, p. 9.— Ed.

Rev. Richard Fish Cadle, whose missionary establishment at Green Bay, Kemper and Milnor were going to inspect and report upon, had organized the parish of St. Paul's in Detroit, Nov. 22, 1824, and remained in charge until June, 1828, when he left because of failing health, and assumed the care of the Green Bay mission.— Ed.

[5] Dr. C. P. McIlvaine, bishop of Ohio.— Ed.

Saw some Potawatamies, a few were gaily dressed & painted, but most of them looked wretched & poorly clothed. We dined with Mr. Searle & took tea with Mr. Trowbridge. Politeness & hospitality with city manners are evident every where. Rode up & down the river saw some ancient mounds, had a beautiful view of the city & went to Pontiac's or bloody bridge.[1] The Indians we saw live on the American side but go over occasionally to Malden to receive presents. The french Canadians do not change their habits. Their farms consist of long strips of land thus enabling them to reside near each other in case of danger. The R[oman] Cath[olic]s are making great efforts here with respect to colleges & schools. They have a B[isho]p & 8 or 9 clergy. A lady says 13 years ago she saw one of their processions — but they do not take place now — it was the Fete de Dieu.[2] Dr. M says that in France the farms are long and narrow with no fences or hedges dividing them or even securing them from the road. A traveller told Dr. M. he once saw an old woman tending a goose, while it was feeding.

There is a beautiful wide straight street called Jefferson parallel with banks of the river where most of the houses are to be found.

13 Sunday. This day has been very warm, particularly during the afternoon. We returned to the boat last eveng soon after 9 oc[lock] & I took the first opportunity of going to bed. But I am told the boat did not start until near morning. We passed thro Detroit river into St. Clair Lake & then entered St Clair river & stopt soon after 9 at the Warner Hotel of W. Hall for wood. Here we were detained some hours & in the mean time we had Public Worship in the Gents Cabin, I read all the service omiting the Articles on account of the few who assisted us & the heat, & Dr. M

[1] See Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, i, pp. 310 et seq., for description of the fight, July 31, 1763, at the bridge over Parent's Creek, ever since called Bloody Run.— Ed.

[2] For account of French Creole life at Detroit, consult Hubbard's *Memorials of a half century* (N. Y., 1887).— Ed.

preached. The R. C. Bp Resè[1] was on board but neither he nor the R. Cs attended our Service. Indeed I think that many who would call themselves Prot[estant]s absented themselves. The River St. Clair has many clearings & houses on both its banks, wh are rather level — the land on the American side is said to be the best. We passed one or two log villages, one a country town of Michigan. The current as we approached Lake Huron became strong & at the extreme of the lake is said to be 7 miles in an hour. On the British side about a mile below fort Gratiot we passed a Missionary establishment erected within two years by the British Gov[ernment]. Major Forsyth[2] says for the benefit of the Chippeways. There were log huts along the bank for the residence of the parents, a large school house, teachers residence &c. The Rev Mr Jones is the superintendent. Fort Gratiot has 2 comps of infantry under Major Hoffman,[3] whose wife & youngest son about 7 came on board. Mrs. H. goes with us to Macanaw to visit a married dg[daughter] — she looks old and has it is said 12 or 14 childn — her husband has spent his life in the army. There was no appearance of cannon at the fort — the buildgs were enclosed with palasadoes & white washed. The flag was flying. We stopt in the stream & sent our boat ashore. Here the rapid current, the fort, entrance into the Bay &c presented a beautiful view. We could not on account apparently of the heat get the people to request a sacred service. We have now 120 cords of wood & some coal wh will not do much more than carry us to Mac. 240 Miles. This boat requires 100 cords wood from Buffalo to Detroit. We now do not expect to stop until we reach Mac, & when opposite Saganaw Bay, tonight, we shall be out of sight of land. Major F. has

[1] Frederick Resé, newly-appointed bishop of the R. C. diocese of Michigan Territory; he was on his way to visit the church at Green Bay. See frequent references to him, *ante*, in documents relating to the Green Bay Catholic church.— Ed.

[2] Maj. Robert A. Forsyth, army paymaster.— Ed.

[3] Brev. Maj. William Hoffman of the 2d infantry.— Ed.

examined my Canada Map & pronounces it very incorrect with respect to the neighbourhood of Mac & Green Bay. There are two Potawatomie chiefs on board dressed pretty much like english servants (a little livery). All the lands of the Pots are sold to gov. & they are under obligation to remove beyond the Miss within 5 yrs of the signing of their treaty. But some who are R. C. [Roman Catholics] are [going] with the Bp. to examine the land at Arbre Crux [l'Arbre Croche][1] & have permission from Gov. to settle here if they choose. The Leopold foundation it is said sent 25,000[dollars] to Ohio & 20,000 to Michigan[2] Bp. R has enlarged his Cathedral an odd looking cupola with 5 porches & is to build a college 3 miles above Detroit. They have a nunnery & opened last winter a school with public promises of not interfering with the religious principles of Prots. Many Episc[opalian]s sent their children.

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Dr M's story of Capt Kerr & the Abbott in Spain. Lent some books of a religious nature. Gen. [Hugh] Brady on board. An intelligent amiable man. Has a company in Maine, 2 at Gratiot others at Mac & the Saut [Ste Marie] — visits them yearly. Lives at Detroit.

14. We had a beautiful eveng last night, the moon about a week old. No clouds, venus bright, the air cool. Soon after entering the Lake, indeed from fort Gratiot, the steam was put on & we travelled at the rate of 12 miles an hour. One man appeared to be constantly employed in pouring water on the beams &c sometimes with a hose, & then with a bucket, & sometimes oil to keep them cool & make them work well. Went to bed with some anxiety from fire, slept badly, rose at 4, on deck soon, no land to be seen, approach Saginaw bay 60 miles deep & where a wind is almost always felt, but now we had nothing par-

[1] Now Harbor Springs, Mich., where the Franciscans have a strong Indian school.—Ed.

[2] Father François Hätscher, who was on his way to Green Bay about this time, was a priest of the Congregation of St. Leopold. See his statement of the purposes of the association, *ante*, pp. 189, 190.— Ed.

ticular. Came to thunder bay isle on wh there is a light house, supposed to be 75 miles from any dwelling. Several passengers on board has often passed here but never heard thunder. Here we were soon after breakfast. The day most beautiful. The mirage or looming, often in this lake. It is supposed by it we saw the Canada shore say 40 miles off. Gen. Brady says he has seen that distance by it. Recd from J Milnor a present of an indian ornament for a female from near [the] Cap[tain's] old house in Detroit on the spot (Forsyth says) where there was formerly a Wyandott village. Supposed to have belonged to a woman who was burned 200 years ago. It a species of red soap stone obtained from the neutral ground near the head waters of the Miss[issippi] or west thereof. Ex-[amined] Fowler's Map of Michigan published in 31 at Albany much better than mine. Gen. Ashley's story of his voyage down the Colorado in skin canoes with 5 men — his meeting with his 100 &c — then ran ground his return — attacked when with 20 he went after his buried Beaver skins & lost 50 out of 52 horses. These stolen by the Black feet. The attempt of the Crows to steal horses, 2 killed — make peace — smoke with the dying man. His safety on the waters of the Colorado with 5 — his manner of going among them — their honesty — Ward from Marion hotel with us — a yankee — his voyage to N York — his voyages to Green Bay — with us as a pilot. Dr Beaumont's map of Fox & Wisconsin rivers. Forsyth was with Cap up Lake Superior. The country is very barren.

About noon we passed the Ohio steam boat which left Wards 13 hours before us. It is now ascertained that the water is not deep enough to permit our boat to go to the Saut. Some on board hope to get the Ohio to take them there tomorrow. There is I am told a tide at Green Bay,[1] but the general opinion is, there is no tide on these lakes.

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[1] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 62; vi, p. 169; vii, pp. 230, 267. Cf. also, Crossman's *Chart showing fluctuations of water surface*, etc., *from 1859 to 1888* (Milwaukee, n. d.).— Ed.

Some think the waters gradually rise & then fall. The lowness of the water towards the Saut is not accounted for.

The distance from Green Bay to fort Winnebago is 215 miles — then a portage of 1½ takes you to the Wisconsin. Major Forsyth went from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien in a boat with a good oarsman in 9 days.

The gen[eral] Government is now making 5 roads from Detroit thro' different parts of the Territory.

Many appear to doubt whether Chichago will be as great as often asserted.

It was at Fort Gratiot the colera burst out with great fury among the army Gen Scott was leading from New York two years ago against Black Hawk[1]

Lieut. Barnum's[2] story of the Creek whose father was guide to Jackson in the Seminole war. Graduated well at West Point, recd a commission — had a furlo to visit his friends — returnd at once to the dress & manners of a savage. Became a drunkard; & altho many young officers in his neighbourhood sought to reclaim him they do never meet him altho being but a few miles from their fort

It was the Eutaws who treated Gen Ashley with so much kindness

Ferry[3] in perplexity at the Macanaw school concerning a female. Very few full bloods in that school

At Mac but few mails in the winter. A man walked last winter from the Saut to Detroit on the borders of the Lake & in most places where the ice was overflowed 6 or 8 inches. He walked with the mail carrier say 25 miles a day. They encamped at night on land — built a fire, cooked — dried their fuel — & took no cold.

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[1] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 261.—Ed.

[2] Ephraim K. Barnum was at that time a captain in the 2d infantry.— Ed.

[3] Rev. William Montague Ferry organized a Presbyterian church on Mackinac island, in 1822, which later developed into a mission school. After suffering many trials and disappointments, he was released from service Aug. 6, 1834, at once settling at Grand Haven, Mich. — his being the first white family at that place. He died Dec. 30, 1867. See Williams's *The old mission church of Mackinac island* (Detroit, 1895).— Ed.

When ten miles from Mac we were opposite a fine large light house on Blois blanc island. Mac Is & round isl were in view, about 4 oc[lock]

The R C school at arbre de croix Capt Ward says is the best establishment of that people in this country. They have a village on a large bay, no whites living among them — are sober, honest, civil, & observe the Sabbath. He has spent 2 or 3 Sundays there. About 40 miles from Mac on mainland, towards Green Bay

Gen Ash[ley] made an estimate last summer. 315 steam boats on waters of Miss averaging 200 tons (some 600) averaging 25 trips per season & with other craft carrying 2,000,000 tons of goods. One steamer that was lost near the Ohio had a cargo valued 350,000 dollars (had the beaver skins from St. Louis for that year)

Ward in his trip to N Y took some things from Greenbay. His return load 70 tons but was too large for the vessel. Could not carry a full load or go quick. From his home to N Y & back again was 2 Mos.

Nearly all our immense load of wood is gone already.

With colours flying & music playing we entered the harbor of Mac. All was novel & interesting. The village near the water, the tents of the voyagers, the lodges of chippeways & otawas, the fort half way up the hill & the highest peak on wh is fort Holmes in ruins. The wharf was crowded with various people, particularly voyagers & Indians. We accompanied Gen. Brady to the fort by a steep ascent, entered the barracks, & passed on to the highest ground where is the old fort. Stopped in going up a skull cave, took a piece of the rock & collected some flowers. The view most beautiful. The fort below & its cannons & white barracks, round isld & bois blanc & the peninsular &c, the Ohio coming into the harbour &c. Went with Mr [Robert] Stuart of Amer Fur Com to Mission House & conversed with Mr Ferry. Been here 11 yrs — has had 110 pupils, now to be reduced to 40 or 50. Cost of building 5000. Shd have a steward. Has one male & one female teacher. Chld shd not be old[er] than from 10 to 12 when

they come to the Mission. Mission has been beneficial — about 23 xans [Christians] are now establishing Mission families & day schools not boarding ones among native villages. Can now do it in consequence of beneficial effects of their Mission. Have had a tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, blacksmith & farrier — cook, washwoman, &c. Thinks the plan of both our schools necessary at beginning. May now do otherwise — at least they can. He invited us to breakfast tomorrow — is a good looking and interesting man. Going to the school examined lodge of Chippeways & a bark canoe.

15. When we returned to the boat last night, some of our folks were dancing on the upper deck & some were playing cards in the cabin. We rose early this morning & found the boat lying off in the stream, the wharf being too insecure to afford protection in case of stormy weather. The water of the lake is exceedingly clear — we can see 4 fathom & a large white substance might be seen 7 or 8 fathom deep. We went to the Mission house soon after 6 & found Mr F ready to recive us. Ex[amined] the whole establishment & found every thing simple plain & well arranged. 150 have been accomodated in the house, wh consists of two houses connected by a low narrow one. The children sleep two or three in a bed — the boys in one room & the girls in another. The teachers have a parlour to themselves, 2 or 3 in a bed room &c. We saw the whole at breakfast in one room at several tables. There was a tailors room, a shoe makers, a kitchen, a medicine room, a store room &c. The 2 school rooms are in the basement story of the Ch[urch]. The Gov[ernment] has given land, a farm &c & now allows 300 & formerly 500 Dolls. Mr F's fam[ily] appear to occupy the right home — they have 5 chld — she appears to be a judicious woman. Mrs. Johnson, wife of an officer at the Saut breakfasted with us. She considers the Saut dreary — there is there a methodist, a baptist (Mr Bingham [1]) Missionary among the natives, & who

[1] Rev. Abel Bingham; he was at Sault Ste. Marie as early as 1831. See Davidson's *Unnamed Wisconsin*, p. 152.— Ed.

officiate at the fort where there are 2 comps. Bible Classes both at Mac & the Saut are held among the soldiers. At the Saut the mercury often freezes. Here peas are not yet ripe — potatoes in season are very fine & the best crop the island yields. There are 1 or 2 good farms, & good winter apples are produced. The opinion appears to be that Cadle was authorized to do what he did, & if he had treated the indictment with contempt the difficulty wld soon have been over.[1] The expense of this mission was say 3500 now less, say 2500.

We went to the barracks & saw Gen Brady review 2 comps under Major (we brot the report of his being a Col) Whissler[2] & Capt Kantz[3] & Capt ——. The comps about 52 men each — 5 mus[icians] in all — good in tactics. The Gen ex[amined] every gun, & cartridge box & invited us to attend him in the inspection — we did so — & then went to the soldiers qrs, examined their beds, knapsacks &c. The rooms were perfectly neat, with flowers &c in them for the occasion. Saw the bread wh looked excellent, the kitchen, the utensils thereof, the medical department, &c. Went to the Majors & took a glass of wine — declined inspecting the provisions & went to see the Arched Rock under the guidance of Mr. Stuart an old Canadian gentleman & took with us Morris & his sister & Porter. It is most beautiful, near the shore, perhaps 100 feet high & 30 wide, forming a very correct arch — with a small one connected with it at right angles. We then went to Sugar loaf rock, a lofty rock in the middle of a plain calcareous (all the island is limestone) with holes, & caves some feet deep — tapers to a narrow

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[1] See *post*, p. 419, note 4, for statement of the origin of this trouble at the Green Bay mission.— Ed.

[2] William Whistler's commission as lieutenant-colonel of the 7th infantry was dated July 21, 1834. Whistler (as major of 2d infantry) had been commandant at Fort Howard, and to him Red Bird had surrendered in 1827. See numerous references to him in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*— Ed.

[3] An error for John Clitz, captain in the 2d infantry. The other company commander at the fort was Captain Barnum, one of our diarist's fellow passengers.— Ed.

ridge, & perhaps 75 feet perpendicular or almost so. In Scull cave wh we visited last night Harvey a British soldier saved a chief from the Massacre of old Mac in '63 wh was taken by the ball stratagem,[1] was hid 14 days, 3 of wh while the chief was drunk, he was left without food. This island is peculiarly romantic. The lodges we visited last night were of mats — saw in one of them a pappoose tied to a board. We returned to the shore our boat was gone to the mainland for wood, & Dr Beaumont & Gen Ashley had sailed in the Ohio for Chicago without our having an opportunity of bidding them good by, wh I regret. We dined at the little hotel in the place & I bot some indian curiosities for the children, & secured some specimens of the stones & flowers of the Island. Before returning from our walk we went to a bluff near fort Holmes from whence we had a fine view of the Sugar loaf on the plain & of the lake & surrounding islands. In the afternoon about 4½ our boat having returned we started on a beautiful, clear, & comparatively cool day for Green Bay the distance of 180 miles. Ward continues our pilot. Had a farewell & most enchanting look of Mac, its hills, fort, antique village & cannons & lodges. Passed 20 miles from Mac, a floating vessel as a light house & entered Michigan Bay. Saw Beaver island &c. The B[isho]p continues with us & we have Capt Klitz, [and] a cong[regational] clergy[man] going for a few months to the Stockbridges on the Fox about 17 miles above Green Bay &c. Saw at Mac Judge [J. D.] Doty who is there to hold a court. Recd attention from Mr Stuart an agent of the Fur Com of Astor wh has lately been sold to a new com. Mrs Stuart says she knows my sisters — her name was Sullivan. A trout wh sometimes is as large as 70 lbs & the white fish about 7 lbs frequently met with here. Old Mr Stuart introduced the subject of Mr Ferry's late difficulties wh it appears took place last winter & tho believing Mr F an innocent man considers his usefulness at an end. We saw Miss Skinner & I considered her

[1] See *ante*, p. 10.— Ed.

& some of the other members of the family rather strange in their appearance[1]

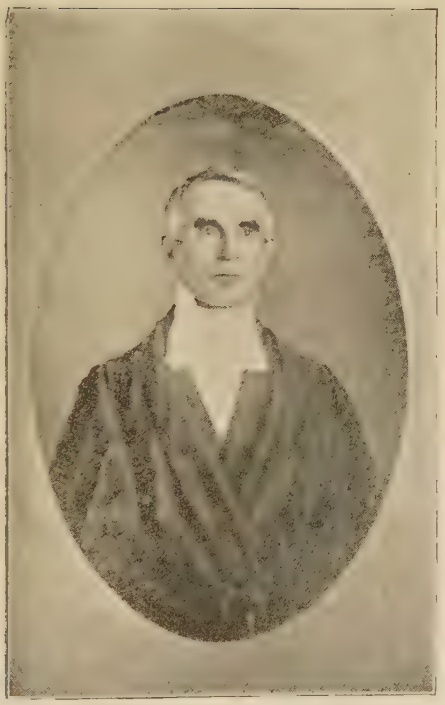
The indians whom we saw yesterday & today were dressed most fantastically. Some in dirty blankets without shirts, some with one legging blue and the other red, some painted red & another brown around the eyes, with rays say of white and red. Some with red on the cheek bone with black stripes. Two had hats. The hair of all black & shining & thick. Some had several long plaits in front tied at the end with ribbons. Some with ear rings & nose rings — & one with worsted hoops more that 3 inc[he]s wide. Some had calico shirts — most had blue cloth rappers edged with red — the leggings were generally red. Some had turbans of dark party col[oure]d handkerchiefs on their heads — most were without any covering on the head but were ornamented by ribbons or feathers stuck together most fantastically, generally eagle feathers — sometimes a profusion of ribbons with them. The few women we saw were modest in their appearance & dress & had not many colours — their heads were uncovered. Some of the boys had only a piece of an old blanket & made a great display of their naked legs. A chief called Old Wing made his appearance with the skin like that of a cat in his hand. He is said to be 80 yrs old & was the Ottawa chief that assisted the Americans during the last war. He looked very old & comical — cleaner than any of the rest — had on a round hat with a silver band — a large medal on his breast &c. Almost all the men looked very ugly & very dirty. Very few spoke to us or were noticed by any one. It appears they might very generally take up the expression, No one cares for my soul. Wrote a letter to Mrs Relf since tea. My Map continues to be very bad. We have pretty much determined to stay while at Green Bay at the Mission School.[2]

[1] Miss Persis Skinner, one of the mission teachers, who later married Rev. Samuel Denton, a Swiss, who in 1835 established a mission where is now Red Wing, Minn. See Davidson, pp. 134, 135.— Ed.

[2] The school had been opened in 1827 by Richard F. and Sarah B. Cadle

16. Last evening was very beautiful & delightful. The air cool. I cannot sleep well on board the boat and long for a sleep on land. The towels, basins &c here are not what they ought to be. The police of the boat is bad. Plenty of servants, all white — they wash with us, use the common comb & brush, &c & sleep in the cabin on Matresses. A negro servant of Major Forsyth slept in the cabin on his own bed. When I rose this morning we were entering Green Bay. Louse or Potowatamonie Island (The Ps called Lice by the french on account of their dirty habits) on our left — Bower's [Bowyer's] bluff ahead & Green island just passed on our right. About 8 oc[lock] we went to Eagle bay or harbour formed by an island off the mainland on the left. The bay is safe on all sides & deep. From there

in the unoccupied barracks at Camp Smith, on the east side of Fox River, at "Shantytown." During the winter of 1828-29, land was obtained from the government, "adjoining the military reservation on the north," and on this a building was erected; other buildings followed, in the summer of 1829. The Indians were either indifferent to the scheme, or bitterly opposed to it, objecting to rigid discipline being applied to their children. The French, too, disliked the enterprise, both because it was a Protestant mission, and because it did not accord with their notion of the fitness of things. Solomon Juneau, the founder of Milwaukee, once wrote: "As to the little savages whom you ask about for Mr. Cadle, I have spoken to several, and they tell me with great satisfaction that they are much happier in their present situation than in learning geography."— *Historic Green Bay*, pp. 233, 234. Tired out, with patience gone and health failing, Cadle wrote, June 16, 1832, to the executive committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, begging to be relieved "from a burden by which I am bowed down greatly." In October, however, the committee induced him to promise to continue his work on the condition of being more heartily supported by the society. The *Proceedings* of the society, held in New York in October, 1832, pp. 21-29, contain an interesting detailed account of the condition and needs of the Green Bay mission. The present journal describes the investigation of the establishment by Kemper and Milnor, as representatives of the society, on account of the trouble which had arisen from the severe punishment of some of the Indian boys. Cadle continued in charge until 1838, when he was succeeded by Rev. Daniel E. Brown, who continued the work for two years longer; but it finally — although at first incorporated as the "Wisconsin University of Green Bay," and later as "Hobart University"— succumbed to the discouragements with which the institution was from the first beset.— Ed.



Rev. Richard Fish Cadle.
From a contemporary oil portrait.

Chambers island was ahead about five miles on the right — & we pass on the left, the main land came to Sturgeon Bay. We go slowly because the wind wh is pretty high is right ahead, and the wood is bad.

24 July. We are yet at Green Bay. Many days are passed since I wrote in this journal. I will now, tho I have scarcely time, endeavour to make up for the past neglect. This day & the 3 preceding have been exceedingly hot — the ther at the fort was 95 on the 22 & at Navarino at 23 it was 97. Recd from Mr Groom[1] some specimens of copper &c from the river S of this & wh empties into L. Michigan — from Miss Cadle[2] some specimens from Magura & from Judge [John P.] Arndt a piece of copper taken by an Indian from the grand chute[3] of Fox river 6 miles below L. Winnebago. Saw some stones on the shore from the Bay Settlement 6 miles below Navarino wh consisted apparently of Marine shells and mud petrified — obtained specimens of them. Met Mr. [Jean Baptiste] Laborde bro of Mrs. Douceman[4] of the R. C. Mission, spoke in the plainest terms of the influence of the traders * * * in preventing children from coming to it. * * * Recd from Miss Cadle specimens of porcupine quills in natural & colored state. Mr Cadles paper concerning Mr. Mazzuchelli[5] &c. One of the little

[1] Leonard Groom was one of Cadle's assistants at the mission.— Ed.

[2] Miss Sarah B. Cadle, sister of Rev. R. F. Cadle, and "female superintendent" of the mission.— Ed.

[3] Grand Chute is the fall, or rapids, at what is now the city of Appleton. Going up Fox River from Green Bay, the names of natural obstructions are as follows: Rapides des Pères (Rapids of the Fathers, so named because here was established by Father Alloüez, the Jesuit mission of St. Francis Xavier), at what is now De Pere; Little Kakalin, now called Little Rapids; the Croche,— above the present Wrightstown; Grand Kakalin (with some fourteen different spellings), where is now the city of Kaukauna; Little Chute, still preserving the name (the village there, was originally settled by Iometa's band of Winnebagoes); a mile farther up, the Cedars, where the Indian treaty of 1836 was held, and where is now the village of Kimberly; then Grand Chute, at the present Appleton.— H. B. Tanner.

[4] Mrs. Rosalie Dousman, wife of John, and in charge of the Roman Catholic Indian school. See *ante*, p. 176.— Ed.

[5] See *ante*, pp. 155 et seq., for account of Father Mazzuchelli's work at Green Bay and elsewhere.— Ed.

girls who has been at the school from the beginning goes to day & came to bid us good bye. She spoke English well but with a foreign, I wld say, a french accent. She is only 12 now, but her Mother who is married again, has a young infant & requires her at home. She leaves here two bros. The girls appear kind and affec[tionate] to each other & attached to their teachers. If we give up this school we not only afford a triumph to its enemies the traders & the R C but we abandon a station of great importance. Is it nothing to have rescued more than 200 ch[ildren] from degradation & vice & ignorance & death — to teach them the arts & feelings of civilized life and the principles of the Gospel? * * * Many of these chld are real Inds born in our ch, but who wld be ignorant of knowledge & our language were it not for this school. And many born heathen exhibit by their conduct & writings an evidence of the Gospel upon their souls. Here, in this mission the Ch is exerting herself & has an opportunity of doing good to heathen. If we give up this, we abandon the only post we have among the heathen. We have more Indian chld here than they have at Macanaw — & the schools of the ch[urch] Miss[ionary] Soc[iety] among the N W Indians are principally composed of the children of white traders. Some of the chld here in 2 yrs have in addition to a knowledge of the language acquired as much school information i. e. made as much progress in spelling, reading, writing, composition, geography, grammar & arithmetic as chld of similar age in the district schools of Connt.

Mr. Cadle this morning submitted to our perusal many papers relative to his trials & duties. He has been with a meek & devoted spirit most faithful to all his duties — & his sister has laboured beyond her strength — & they both assure us that for the last 6 mos no persons could be more interested in the welfare of the Mission & ready to spend & be spent in its service than Mr Gregory & Miss Crawford.[1] But Mr C's feelings are too sensitive — we re-

[1] Almon Gregory and Sarah Crawford, teachers at the mission.— Ed.

quire a man of sterner stuff than he is made of to be at the head of the Mission.

Dined at Mr. Whitneys at Navarino — there besides we 3 & Mr & Mrs [S.] W. Beall[1] Arndt W's nephew & nearly a doz officers from the garrison in full uniform — pitcher full of lemonade & port, madeira & champaign wines — roast pig, veal, ham, venison, & veal pie — sallid — cranberry (abound here) tarts & floating islands — cheese, raisins, almonds, english walnuts, filberts. The 2 Drs of the fort drank no wine — have established a Soc which now included 80 odd on principle of total abstinence. Lieut Clary[2] belongs to it likewise. A conversation conc[erning] voyageurs & bark canoes. They go 100 Miles in 24 hours & paddle 22 hours. When they stop the man who is carried cooks — that is boils the indian corn with tallow while the men sleep. He sleeps in the boat while they work. One, who receives ⅓ more pay than the rest sings, all join in chorus — in this way they are kept awake. Sometimes 8, sometimes 15 men. Gov [Lewis] Cass travelled in 12 days in this manner from here to St. Louis by Fox & Wisconsin — then to Chicago & then here. The use of tallow has led many chld to eat the candles of the house. Once Mr C had to publish a law to this effect, that no child should eat bark, or candles or snow. Returning from Navarino a Meno[monee] woman drunk, a large boy with only a cloth on, & others, especially men, nearly naked, some with nothing apparently but a dirty ragged blanket. The greater part of them look most wretched & miserable. When going to dinner we saw a whole family — women, children &c going to bath. They kept all their clothes on, & in that way, wash them. 2 yrs ago there were great apprehensions that the Sacs & Foxs wld be here. A cannon was planted near the river opposite the Mission House, patrols were kept about the settlement, the whites in the neighbourhood of Lake Winnebago moved

[1] Samuel W. Beall was one of the vestrymen of Christ Church parish, at Green Bay.— Ed.

[2] Robert E. Clary, 2d lieutenant of the 5th infantry.— Ed.

down — & the cannon on the river was to be the signal when fired for all the inhabs to go to the fort. From the fort on the first alarm, a company had been sent to f. Winnebago leaving here but 17 men & the post in almost a defenceless state in consequence of its undergoing repairs.[1] It was supposed that the Mission house wld be the first object of attack on a/c of the no of scalps to be obtained. The alarm continued 3 weeks — some nights the large boys did not go to bed. A girl with long hair requested it might be cut off so that she cld not be scalped.

The state of society has been & continues wretched.

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Mrs Grignon has indian dresses that wld cost 80 or 100 dollars.

Nav[arino] 1¼ miles up the river — at Nav & Mission perhaps ¾ [of a mile] wide — banks at first low — gradually rise — both sides of shore almost filled with rushes — & at mouth & in bays of the river there is wild rice

The land between this & lake Michigan said to be bad — the soil, particularly S. E. very good.

Temperen[ce] Soces among soldiers to do any good must be for total abstinence. They will otherwise get drunk on beer, cider or wine.

16. We arrived at Navarino about 5 oc[lock]. The bay had for some time looked narrow & the channel was very crooked. Entering the river Fox fort Howard on right & Navarino about 20 houses on left. Land looked low & unpromising. Might suppose that fevers abounded but it is not so. The banks of the river are healthy, owing it is supposed to the frequent agitation of the water by winds, & a rise & fall wh occasionally takes place & is not easily accounted for but is attributed to the wind. Gave Phillips Xan [Christian] experience to Mrs. Morris, she promising to be less careless in future. Her mother in law is quite unwell. Many persons & officers came on

[1] See documentary history of the Stambaugh expedition, in Black Hawk War, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 266 et seq.— Ed.

board but no one for us. Mr Whitney promised to send our baggage to the Mission House, & Mr [Alexander J.] Irwin offered to take us there, a distance of 3 miles. Kindly recd. Mr C there — not expected. My letter & Mr Van Pelts announcing our coming came with us. Went down with Mr Cadle to the boat to invite the passengers to visit the Mission. Miss C is now the superintendent — Mr Chas engaged to officiate to the Oneidas.

There is much to admire in the school — but it is scarcely comfortable to its inmates — it has been very expensive — the constant cry from Phila has been *more economy*, & in order to obey, & being never in fact beforehand but constantly obliged to get not only goods but money from the store — the whole economy has been so frugal as to be scarcely comfortable. The barn is good but there is nothing in it — they buy flour & pork by the single barrel — they have not had for weeks any fresh meat. They have no molasses, no indian meal, & but little milk. Much has been done even with the farm, but it is evidently requisite to have a handsome sum of money to be laid out at once for the Mission before it can become comfortable & economical.

17. Were visited by several of our passengers — Milnor, Lawrence &c. Milnor intends buying a bark canoe to take to Batavia. So cold this night we asked for blankets. Wrote on board the boat to Mrs. R. & after I landed to [name illegible]. The boat started for Chicago this afternoon, & we know not when we shall be able to return — for all arrangements & promises with respect to steamboats will it is said henceforth fail.

18. Visited Gen Brooke[1] & gave Gen Scotts letter — pretty wife, beautiful child.

26. rose early after sleeping 2 hours. We had a most sad time of it last night. I must now mention however lest I forget it that the Oneidas have 500,000 acres — it extends some distance on the Fox river about ten miles & then

[1] Brev. Brig. Gen. George M. Brooke, colonel of 5th infantry.— Ed.

in a N W direction. All their land lies together forming 2 paralalograms. The Stockbridges who have been here for 12 yrs have sold their land to Government, reserving 2 tws [towns] & 23,000 dolls for the tw [town] here at Grand Kakalin. The 2 tws to wh they are to remove are beyond the Misspi. This country of theirs was purchased by them from the Menominees & Winnebagoes.

Mr Whitney walked from St Peters to Detroit from Dec to Feb 1250 miles by way of Green Bay & Chicago — he camped out 42 nights — spent 18 days at G B

At Grand Kakalin on west side a large red cross, a painted cock on top & attached to a horizontal beam of cross a spear, scourge, crown of

The fall at G. Kakalin 24 feet in the course of the rapids — 150 from Lake Winnebago to foot of rapids & L Winnebago to Lake Mich 170 feet descent.

28. Hope deferred makes the heart sick. But I will not murmur or repine. No boat as yet, one however it is supposed will appear today or tomorrow. I long most anxiously to see my little ones — & I desire to say thy will be done. We are detained here I trust for beneficial purposes. Yesterday 27 I officiated in M[orning] at fort — aft[ernoon] at Navarino & 5 oc[lock] at Mission. The band of music, the flags around the wall, the dress & orderly appearance of the soldiers gave a very imposing appearance. The general was present but not his lady who was detained by the sickness of a child.

Lieut. Clary thinks that the bay flies wh are yet very numerous arise from what I consider their carcasses, not those from which they creep, but their own dead bodies. Dr. Satterlee[1] promised me a mem[orandum] of the heat of the last week, it yet continues very warm. Dr M & myself took our dinner with Mr Whitney. He offers to paint the Mission a dark colour like his own house in wh he is now lodging, inside & out, for 350 dollars — will subscribe ten & thinks the Bay people wld give 100.

[1] Richard S. Satterlee, assistant army surgeon, the post doctor.— Ed.

Mr Ellis[1] has returned from surveying, & gives a bad report of the musquitoes. His story of the intended pamphlet — refused admittance in his paper — in Detroit paper— 50 dolls paid to Detroit editor — As first offered to him it contained the basest & most malignant insinuations. Is daily expected from D ——[2] thinks it will almost destroy Mr C. Conversed freely with Mr Beall after the 3d service — stated the evidence of the boys (the disgrace attached to a crop arises from the military custom).

The assertion of Pouquette[3] in conversation with Mr C —— Mr C almost crazy when informed of Conduct of boys — left the whipping pretty much to judgment of assistants. Mr C violent passions — wished Smith to commence a suit — instigated the paper controversy, persuaded Beall to write.[4] The Mission might be better managed &

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[1] Andrew G. Ellis had been an assistant at the Episcopal mission. At this time, he was proprietor of the Green Bay *Intelligencer*.— Ed.

[2] From documents published *post*, Joseph Dickinson appears to have been the author of this pamphlet attack on Cadle.— Ed.

[3] Joseph Paquette, a cousin of the famous Pierre. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 402, note 5.— Ed.

[4] It appears from a letter signed "Civis," published in the Green Bay *Intelligencer* for Feb. 19, 1834, that in December previous, "a great fault was committed by several of the boys belonging to the Mission, for which they were severely chastised." Two of the boys were induced to complain "on behalf of the United States, of a violent and malicious battery perpetrated on their persons by the superintendent and male assistants, who [in January] were arrested upon a warrant, and brought before a magistrate," who bound them "to appear at the next term of the circuit court for trial." The correspondent condemns these proceedings as casting a reflection on the school; whereas, under the provisions of the territorial statute organizing the establishment, the teachers have a right properly to coerce the pupils, their respective relations being that of master and apprentice. "Civis" alleges that the teachers were not given an opportunity in the justice court of Louis Grignon, to introduce proofs of justification.

In the *Intelligencer* for March 5. "Civis" is charged by "Orion" with misrepresentation. He says: "In the evening of the 24th of Dec. last, eleven of the School boys attending the G. B. Mission were called from their beds (after having retired to rest) and for some supposed offence were conducted to a school room adjoining their lodgings, where by the orders of the assistant teachers, they were stripped of their outward garments

at ⅓ less — the buildings shd have cost ⅓ less. Smith cleared 1100, Olds 800. Mr C too honourable & not able to contend with crafty men. The destitution of horses, carriage, food &c — the payment sometimes of 20 dolls a bar-

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and severely, cruelly and unreasonably punished by the infliction of some 15, others 20, and 25 stripes upon the bare back. They were then put in confinement, and on the day following were again called into the presence of their inhuman masters, when the same violence was repeated on their persons, lessening only the number of the blows, but with equal severity, and adding to the sum of shame and cruelty the barbarous and disgraceful outrage of shaving the head. The sufferings of these children may more readily be imagined than described when we are informed that these severities were endured at a season of the year when the mercury ranged from 5 degrees to 20 degrees below zero. After the enactment of this summary vengeance they were sent to the Hospital, and as they gradually recovered of their wounds, were put to task in the Mission service. Some 10 or 20 days having elapsed, the guardian of Theodore Lupient and Peter Bazille (two of these unfortunates) visited this place, and having called upon the superintendent for the purpose of acquainting himself with the facts was fully informed. He immediately withdrew his wards from their confinement and from the care of the Superintendent and applied to the civil authorities for redress." The correspondent further alleges that the superintendent and one of the assistants had been discharged by the magistrate — two assistants only "were bound in recognizance to the next term of the court."

March 19, the editor of the *Intelligencer* (Ellis) himself takes a hand in the quarrel, heartily indorsing Mr. Cadle. In the same issue, "Civis" and "No Mistake" attack "Orion" in three columns of fine type; they allege that the heads were not shaved, the hair being cut with scissors. Mr. Cadle himself also appears in the controversy with the following card, dated March 15: "The undersigned having noticed an article in the G. B. Intelligencer of the 5th inst, signed 'Orion,' thinks proper to state that he will in due time satisfactorily prove the writer to be a calumniator. He has directed the attention of the Society by which he is appointed to those allegations; and requested the benefit of a TRIAL; and further solicited that he may be dealt with according to the utmost rigour of the ecclesiastical laws to which he is subject if the charges should be substantially proved to be true, or, if shewn to be false, that they will publish the name of the author as a SLANDERER. R. F. CADLE."

Here the newspaper war appears to end. It will be noticed that Dr. Kemper ascertains that Cadle himself started this controversy, which no doubt greatly injured the mission. Further light is thrown on the matter, by the documents published *post*.— ED.

rel for pork, all wrong. Mr B's wife speaks highly of Mr Garvin's qualities. Mr B, highest opinion of integrity, purity & piety of Mr C — at same time is sensible of his faults, wishes this conversation to be secret. Mr B thinks Dr M. & myself shd investigate the late affair.

I am this morning (28) much fatigued with preaching, heat, musquitoes &c. We are apparently to have another warm day. My neck, ears, face, legs & body yet show marks of the Grand Kakalin expedition.

26. Garvin's house where we slept (I not more than 2 hours) is at foot of Grand Kakalin about 18 miles above Navarino. A log cabin with 2 or 3 rooms. The 4 got a room to themselves. C & I in same bed & Mr & Mrs W had a room. G. will sell whiskey & has therefore been separated from the Stockbridges with whom he had united himself — but he himself is a Naraganset. We found they were acquainted with Aaron Konkapot & that he is known as a drunkard. With the aid of what Mrs W brot in the boat we made out a breakfast — no milk, no butter — but tea, bread & chickens & currant sweatmeats. After a short walk we got into a wagon & passed over a most perilous road about a mile to the Mission House of the Amer [ican] Board among the Stocksbs. As they the S are now moving to the lands they have got in exchange on L Winnebago, this house &c will be abandoned. It was only intended for the residence of the families of the Clergyman and teacher. The school house was about ½ a mile off in the woods — only a day school, & but poorly attended in summer, it had not in it apparently as we passed, more than 12. The teacher Mr Hall[1] is sick at present, we conversed for a few minutes with Mr. Barber[2] at the Mission door, but did not get out.

Mr. Whitney has a store on left hand side going up wh he

[1] Rev. Chauncey Hall, coadjutor of Rev. Cutting Marsh. Davidson gives an account of the mission.— Ed.

[2] For biographical sketch of Rev. Abel Lester Barber, "the first resident minister in Wisconsin to labor under commission from the American Home Missionary Society," see Davidson, p. 209.— Ed.

established at request of the Stockcb — it is a temperance store,— & is now to be broken up. It has been kept for some time past by Mr W's nephew whose family with that of the Mission is the only white family in the settlement. Here we stayed and dined. The Stocks are more civilised and converse more in English than the Oneidas. There Miss & Mrs —— started some weeks ago with some of their people beyond the Miss[issippi] to look out for new Miss[ionar]y stations. All the nation, altho it was rainy, assembled to bid him good bye, he prayed &c. Passing from Garvin's to the store we met with several Menomenee lodges — at one, a fellow nearly naked was climbing up the roof to seat himself on the top, wh he did before we passed by (For want of foresight Mr Beall thinks we have pd extravagantly for wood & shoes besides the other things mentioned. We must have the wood for one winter cut the winter before, on our own lands. The Mission has often pd Irwin 1.75 per pr. for shoes wh cost him say 75 cts). From the store (having had a dinner of salted venison, tea, cucumbers, dried apple sauce &c) we went down the stream 1½ miles in a log canoe — comical & somewhat alarming. All of us seated on the bottom in a row — commanded to sit still & under no circumstances to lay hold of the sides. Mr W. & a voyageur paddled — 6 of us in the canoe. We landed on the opposite side & walked to the house of La Charme[1] an old batchelor who was engaged in washing his check shirt. He had horses, cattle & fowls about his door & his employment is to transport goods at this portage of the grand K. A cross and beads were hanging on the walls, picture of Gen Jackson, & bright brass shovel poker &c for coal grate. After some hesitation he agreed to take us in his cart to the boat. Dr M & Mr & Mrs W got in, & were in peril. C & I walked. Du Charme not far below his house on a prairie w[h]ere there were several cross roads

[1] Du Charme is meant. Paul du Charme was the only one of that family who lived at Kaukauna for any length of time. His brother Dominic was the first settler, and Paul succeeded him. He is undoubtedly the one here referred to; he was the only bachelor among them.— H. B Tanner.

has erected a large red cross perhaps 30 feet high, about ½ way up a small painting of Madonna & child. On the top of perpendicular beam a wooden cock painted — a little before a small piece of wood with I. S. H. [I. H. S.] on the horizontal beam a heart, ladder, crown of thorns, scourge, hammer, spike &c. In his zeal he once cut down a cross at Green Bay that had been erected by a priest whom he considered a bad man & was fined by the court 50 dolls. A Mr Grignon whose wife is a Meno[monee] & whose dg[daughter] is wife of Childs the sheriff claims a great deal of land here & has a saw mill at the rapids. At the mill the view of the rapids is very fine. G's son was attending the mill, dressed well with leather gloves on, & a wild dressed Meno well grown lad assisting.[1] Here Arndt joined us. He it is said has an interest in Garvin's inn In walking over the meadow from the mill to the landing passed an indian burial place, 2 poles with white flags flying a pale fence partly surrounding the place & thick sticks of wood covering some of the graves. The boat at Grignon's landing was ready for us — awning-sail, soon put down — started after 4 — went very pleasantly — rowed — lemonade. A short distance from Garvin's below a roman cath chapel built by Menos of logs. Mr E. Williams house at little K.

[1] The Mr. Grignon here referred to must be Augustin, third son (born June 27, 1780) of Pierre Grignon and Louise de Langlade. Augustin's wife, whose maiden name was Nancy McCrea, was from a Scotch father and Menomonee mother; their daughter Margaret married Ebenezer Childs. The son mentioned, was undoubtedly Charles A. Grignon. The land claim at Kaukauna rapids was derived by Augustin Grignon in part by purchase from Dominic du Charme, and in part by actual settlement by his wife. Du Charme was the first settler at the rapids; Grignon came next (July 1, 1812), settling on land adjoining Du Charme's claim; later, he bought a part of the latter's land, and occupied Du Charme's house, repairing and enlarging it. Then, in 1816, he built a grist mill on the property. This was on the north side of the river. The first permanent settlement on the north side was made in 1822, when fifty Christianized Stockbridges located there, on land previously ceded to the New York Indians by the Menomonees. The mission established among them was in charge of the Presbyterian church, and is described by Davidson as "the first Puritan church in Wisconsin."— H. B. Tanner.

half way between G K & Navarino. Claims land 3 miles sq. Does not officiate — in no estimation — greatly in debt owes Whitney 1500 — has had two executions of him lately when some of his cattle were seized & sold. Had many of the Canadian boat songs — home at dark.

Whitney expects early in Aug to go to [the] Missp[i] — has a shot tower near Galena wh his nephew now at G K is to superintend.[1] W engaged in many things. Bo[ugh]t on sat[urday] 79 head of cattle just come up from Illinois — is to supply fort & Mission with beef.

29. Big Wave an old chief of the Menominees with a few other Menos & 2 Chippeways from Sturgeon Bay, came to the house with Col Boyd[2] & [Richard] Prickett U. S. Interpreter.[3] Dr M addressed them concerning the school & the advantages of sending their chld to it & ag[ainst] intemperance. Big Wave with a regimental coat & a large medal of Washington was the principal speaker on the other side. The chiefs seated themselves on the floor evidently not knowing the use of chairs, & were much attracted by the clock. B W & 2 others well dressed * * * & have abandoned drunkenness. One poor fellow, said to drink, & badly dressed, with his face painted black, was eloquent & affected. They promised their endeavours to persuade their people to send their children — acknowledged the advantages of education — alluded to our differen[ce] of colour as an intimation from the Alm[igh]ty that we were designed for different stations & employments — blamed the whites for the introduction of whiskey wh is destroying the Indians & wh they cannot resist — & said that the first whites they were acquainted with did not sell them rum (the french) — the British sold them some but not much — but the Amers will sell it to them as long as they have any furs. Dr M gave them from the store room some red flannel & cotton &c as presents — we shook hands, & separated. Prickett the Inter[preter] was

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 338.— Ed.

[2] Col. George Boyd, U. S. Indian agent at Green Bay.— Ed.

[3] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, for various references to Prickett.— Ed.

taken a prisoner when a boy 14 yrs old in what is now called Green County, Penn & taken to the present Chilicothe, Ohio, by the Stockbridges. He in time found his way to Mac & was 20 yrs in fur com[pany]. Has gone from [Grand] Portage of L Superior to Montreal in bark canoe in 6 days, 14 rowers, bark canoe, carrying 3 tons. Is said to be a boaster — married first a Chip & then a Menom. Living near Col Boyd's, like an Indian.

Mr C stated to me that his own taste & judgment wld have led him to settle himself as a Miss^{y} in the midst of the Indians, but that here he had been obliged to act in obedience of orders,— the plan of the school, its location &c were settled by the Ex Com^{e}.

28 A long visit from Mr Beall. He is anxious we shd enter into a scrutiny of the late affair, thinks the honor of the Mission & the credit of Mr C demands it. It is known that Mr. C demanded an investigation; if we go away without holding one it will be said by the R. C. that we were afraid to do so. Dr M on the contrary says we have no authority to enter into an impartial inquiry, to summon witnesses &c — that we ought to let the subject sleep if possible as it is too delicate for public discussion — that we have the full & decided opinion of all the respectable inhabitants of the excellency of Mr C's character & the correctness of the punishment, & that the whole affair is the effect of malignity, & ingratitude. * * * Nothing but necessity shd compel us to bring it before the public — for then it will be seen acc[ording] to the rules of the house, the boys were too old to be whipped & that the cutting off the hair was not authorized — & some wld say if there had been a teacher sleeping in the room with the chld, as there ought to have been, this sad affair cld not have happened. Mr C asserts, justly I think, that with respect to the punishment, there was no provision in the laws for such a crime, it was not to be thot of, & was therefore acc[ording] to the right of every parent (as he viewed himself) or master, to be punished in an unusual way — I think that the statement of the assistants Gregory, Smith & Groom who

denounced the crime & punished it — & of Beall and others who were present shd be put on paper

This morng 5 Oneida boys ran away. One of whom had run away twice before since we have been here. We want these Oneidas because they are full bloods, & yet it will not I think do to go in pursuit of them every time. Ought we not to threaten they shall not come back — or at least write to the Chiefs & solicit their interference to induce the parents when they run home to whip them & send them immediately back

Col. Boyd thinks the sickly appearance of many of the children is owing to the salt pork on wh they almost live

Mr Groom goes today with two hired men & one of the boys near to the little Kakalin about 9 miles off to cut hay from an Oneida prairie, permission having been obtained from the Chfs for that purpose.

Cobus Hill brot to day the Oneida P. B. [prayer book] to be reprinted in N York Dr M. promised his aid. I will propose this plan to Bp O.[1] for his two C P Book Soct — offer a premium of say 500 dolls for the best translation of the whole P. B. in the Oneida — & print an edition of the best translation that is offered.

Spent aft & took tea at Col. B. with Mr C. Col agrees in the impropriety of further investigation, & thinks the testimonial signed by himself & others[2] sufficient to cover

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[1] Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk, of New York, chairman of the committee for domestic missions, D. & F. M. Society.— Ed.

[2] In the Green Bay *Intelligencer* for Feb. 19, 1834, appears the following card, doubtless the testimonial here referred to:

"We the undersigned of Green Bay and its vicinity, having attended this day at the Mission House by invitation and heard the reasons assigned by the Rev. R. F. Cadle which have induced him to withdraw from the immediate Superintendence of the Green Bay Mission at the present time, take pleasure in stating our entire approval of his conduct. While we bear testimony to the zeal and unremitting labor with which Mr. Cadle has at all times during the term of his agency in this establishment discharged his arduous and irksome duties, we hope that he will find in his retirement that rest and contentment which he so much deserves and so earnestly seeks after. We hope that Mr. Cadle will still continue to exercise towards

the whole ground — will make exertions to collect the Menos of the neighbourhood tomorrow at 10 oc[lock] at the Mission for Dr M. to address — is willing to add something to Mr. C's statement conc[erning] the benefits wh have resulted from the school

He says the Amer Fur Com at Mac have advertised yearly for 15,000 galls of whiskey — that 100 barrels of it are sent every year to Green Bay to Judge [John] Lawe & the other members of the fur Com who are located here — that he refused at Mac belonging to a Temperence Society because Mr Stuart one of its warm advocates wld continue the agency of the fur Comy

He says the Stocks get for their improvements 25,500

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that institution a fostering care. And we doubt not but the wounds which have by recent occurencies been inflicted, will be healed by the reflection of having faithfully discharged his duty.

"Mission House, Green Bay Feb. 5, 1834.

"(Signed)

Geo. M. Brooke,
Bt. Brig. Gen. U. S. A.
Geo. Boyd,
U. S. Ind. Agent.
J. Lynde, Lt. U. S. A.
E. Worrell, M. D.
Asst. Surg. U. S. A.
R. S. Satterlee,
Surg. U. S. A.
R. B. Marcy, Lt. 5th Inf.
R. E. Clary, Lt. 5th Inf.
St Clair Denny, U. S. A.
Henry Baird.
Henry S. Baird.
J. V. Suydam.
Alexander J. Irwin.
Horatio Minuse.
Samuel Ryan.
M. E. Merrill, Lt. 5th Inf.
N. Perry.
J. W. Conroe.
A. G. Ellis.
S. W. Beall.
David Ward."

dolls & 2 township of 24,000 acres each instead of one — the Brotherto[w]ns get 1600 dolls for their improvements & one township. They are to be located on North of Lake Winnebago adjoining each other & the object of the exchange was to keep if possible all the Whites to the S & E of Fox & Wisconsin

Saw at the Cols [Boyd's] Long's travels in this country printed in London 1791 with vocabularies of Menominee, Chippeway & other indian languages.[1]

A little Menomonee boy who had been wandering about the house with his parents came to school to day as a day scholar — his mother cannot part with him at night. He will probably however get all his meals here. A suit of clothes was given him & he was sent behind the barn, he soon appeared with the new clothes on & the old blanket wrapt around him. This I believe is the boy who said a few days since in answer to Mr Labord's question Why he did not come to the school, That there they whipt too much

This evening the wind came to the North & it became cool after 9 very hot days

17. Called at Mr Bealls, Irwins, Col. Boyds, Beard.[2] So cold that we requested blankets. Col. Boyd indian agent — said to receive intelligence by our boat that his office is abolished.[3] Find him & family warm hearted & attached to Mr C. & Mission. He is quick tempered. She sister to Mrs John Q. Adams.

18. Called at Mrs Smiths (Miss Kellogg that was)[4] in-

[1] J. Long's *Voyages and travels of an Indian interpreter and trader among the N. Amer. Indians, with a vocabulary of the Chippewa and other Indian languages* (London, 1791). A French translation was published in Paris in 1794.— Ed.

[2] So spelled throughout the journal, but the Baird family is meant—Henry Baird and his son Henry S. Tradition in the Baird family has it that Dr. Kemper always pronounced the name as he here spells it.— Ed.

[3] He continued in service until 1840, when he resigned. See biography of Boyd, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 266–269.— Ed.

[4] Mrs. John Y. Smith, when Miss Anna Weed Kellogg, was a missionary teacher to the Stockbridges. Her husband, a Presbyterian, arrived in

tended going with him about a mile up Hill creek, but was prevented by our stay at the fort. Gen B[rooke] from Vir[ginia]—Bp Hobart a tutor in his family introd[uced] by C. F. Mercer—plain & unostentatious—showed us a most admirable garden. Learnt [that he is] not religious—tho fitted up Commissary's room for us with flags & benches & kept it so during our stay & attended whenever we officiated there. Mrs B considered religious, was a Methodist, commun[ion] with Mr C—the dg [daughter] of the lady with whom the Gen lodged when recruiting at Boston. Splendid shell work from New Providence W. I. at Lieut Clary, a pious Pres (—Dr Satterlee, do[ctor] Birnam, Chapman adj [1]), (Capt Cruger [2]—Capt Scott,[3] a hunter). 4 comps here. Satterlee & Clary hold worship & Bible Class with soldiers

Tea at Mr Ellis—Dr M preached at Navarino, I read prayers.

19. We have long conversations with the family concerning the Mission—& with all the gentlemen we meet with

Walked thro the grounds to Devil river [4] about a mile from Fox river—our land extends 2 miles beyond—very little on this side cultivated, about 14 acres—none on other. Saw place where they shoot deer—many pretty flowers—mounds, opened last winter, conchs &c found in them—marshy at times—very little large timber this side. Wood 250 cords pr year 22 fires. 3 wash room, 3 kitchen &c We must have it cut one winter, for next. Went to Camp Smith [5] where the Americans had a fort soon

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Green Bay in May, 1828, being employed in erecting the Stockbridge mission buildings; he married Miss Kellogg in 1832, and at the time of Kemper's visit was, in company with Asa Sherman, running a saw-mill on government lands near Green Bay. See biography in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 452–459.—Ed.

[1] William Chapman, 2d lieutenant, 5th infantry.—Ed.

[2] William E. Cruger, captain, 5th infantry.—Ed.

[3] Martin Scott, captain, 5th infantry.—Ed.

[4] Now East River.—Ed.

[5] The site of Fort Howard, on the west side of Fox River, had been selected in 1816 by Maj. Charles Gratiot, of the engineer corps; he prepared

after the last war — a good view from it. Mr C left us to officiate at Duck Creek. In evening I preached in Mission House. There is a Congregation organized here at Menominiville[1] & likewise at Navarino.[2] The latter place has sprung up within 3 yrs & threatens to destroy the former

20. I officiated at 10 & at 2 in the School House. The day exceedingly hot. Col & Miss Boyd, Mr & Mrs Beard, Mr Beall, the Irwins &c present in morg. Went and officiated at fort at 5 in aft — at Ellis' — & officiated at 8 at Navarino. Conversed with Ellis concerning the Mission, Mr C, Mr Suydam[3] and the late difficulties. Mr C has laboured most faithfully, but perhaps not exactly calculated for the difficulties of the station.

21. The Dr or myself lead in morng & even[ing] worship in the fam[ily]. We assemble in school house at 6 & at 7½. The Psalter, a hymn & then prayers, principally from Cotterill. I am looking over the papers we brot, the laws, & the list of students — Dr M is preparing the report

Dined with the Gen [Brooke] at 1 oc with Dr. Satterlee.

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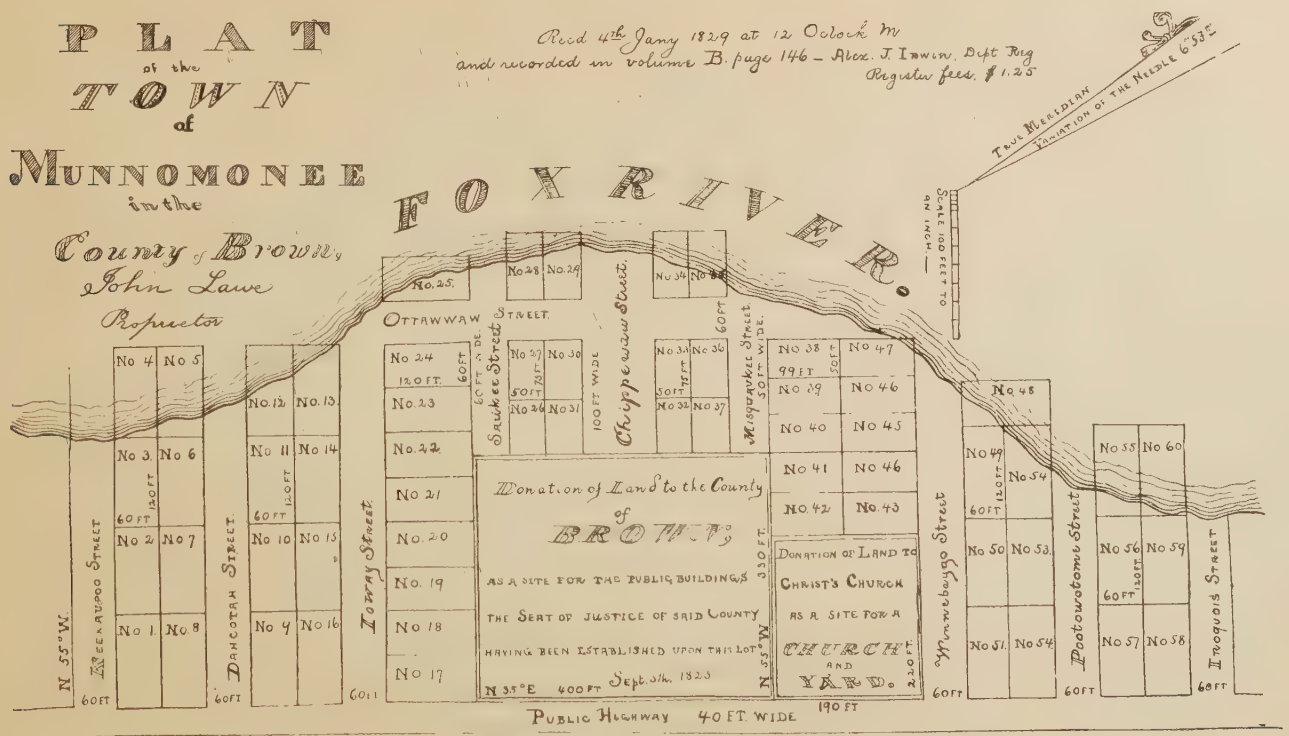
the plans of the fort, and was present during the earlier portion of its construction, its completion being left to the superintendence of Col. Talbot Chambers. When, however, in 1819, Col. Joseph Lee Smith, of the 3d infantry, took charge of the garrison, he became dissatisfied with the low, sandy site, wishing a broader outlook, and commenced work upon fortifications on the east of the Fox, three miles farther up the river and half a mile back from the shore. These new quarters were styled Camp Smith, and were occupied from 1820 to 1822, when the site was condemned as undesirable, and the garrison returned to Fort Howard. Cf. *Historic Green Bay*, pp. 154–166.— Ed.

[1] Menomoneeville (alias "Shantytown" and "Bellevue") originated in the shanty settlement formed between Camp Smith (see preceding note) and Fox River. In Vol. B, p. 146, of the books in the Brown county register of deed's office, Green Bay, is registered (Jan. 24, 1829) a plat of Munnomonee (John Lawe, proprietor). But the settlement is now merely a suburb of Green Bay.— Ed.

[2] Navarino, the nucleus of the modern Green Bay, was platted in 1830 by Daniel Whitney, proprietor.— Ed.

[3] John V. Suydam came to Green Bay in 1831 as an assistant teacher at the mission. Two years later, he became a partner with Ellis, in editing and publishing the Green Bay *Intelligencer*.— Ed.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF MAP OF TOWN OF MUNNOMONEE ("SHANTYTOWN").

Recorded in Brown Co. Register of Deeds' office, vol. B, p. 146, Jan. 4, 1829. A similar plat had been recorded Oct. 6, 1826 (vol. A, pp. 320–324).

Exceedingly hot. Mrs B looked overcome. * * * When the Gen & Gen Brady get together they tell over a bottle long stories of the last war. Gen Brooks was with Gen Smyth, Wilkinson &c on the Canada frontier. At 3 we started from the fort for Oneida say 9 miles Dr. M in a waggon driven by Neddy & for a companion Cobus Hill. I mounted on a Green Bay pony belonging to adj. Chapman — an easy racking horse. Dr S, Mr C & a soldier likewise on horse-back. Two miles of the road had just been opened by the Oneidas the week before. Dr M & Mr C took off their coats. The ride upon the whole was pleasant to me. Stopt within 2 miles of D. C. [Duck Creek] & drank from a spring. Found Dr S. pleasant & intelligent. He had placed in the wagon several musquito nets & a quantity of ice — & promoted by his attentions our comfort in a great degree. After riding thro the woods 6 miles we came to the settlement — log houses scattered on each side of the road, with perhaps 400 acres cleared — the crops looked promising. At parsonage about sun set.

The building had been much improved during the day. A shed had been erected for a kitchen where several Oneida women prepared the meals. A porch had been placed in front &c. The house had 2 rooms besides a large pantry. At tea we had venison &c. Two fires were kindled in front of the door to keep off the musqs & notwithstanding the heat I found the smoke attractive compared with the bite of those venimous insects. The ice was very refreshing not only to ourselves but to all visitors. Dr M was placed in the bed room — in the other we 4 slept with all doors & windows open. I had a good bed on the floor under a window & surrounded with a net — & slept pretty well.

The ch[urch], a log building is near the Parsonage. It has in a recess a chancel &c with a vestry room behind — an unfinished gallary in front — benches with backs. We walked there in the eveng & heard several of the Congregation practising music for next day with a good & well played bass viol

The morng of this day before we left the Mission was de-

voted to an examination of the girls school. It was very satisfactory. Girls who have been here two yrs only & who when they came knew not a word of English or a letter now equal in school learning girls of the same age in our District Schools in Conn. Some recited Murrays Eng Grammar, Olneys Geo[graphy], Colburns Arith — read, spelled & wrote well. They appear obedient to Mr Crawford & affectionate to each other

We must buy some books for those children who have washed for us &c.

22. Col [George] Croghan whom I once knew & is now Inspector Gen of the Army is expected at fort Howard soon.

* * * * * * * *

We assembled in ch at 10 oc. The people pressed to it until all seats were occupied & more benches had to be brot in. The men on one side the women on the other. About 10 infants in their peculiar cradles were kept in excellent order. Cobus Hill read part of the Service in Mohawk, & hymns in that language were sung from books prepared by Methodists. The whole audience quiet & very solemn in their deportment. Mr C read Com[munion] Ser[vice]— Dr. M preached — then I said a few words from C H's [Cobus Hill's] reading desk on Lord's Supper — what we said was interpreted sentence by sentence by John Smith, born among them, but apparently the son of a negro by an Indian woman. John interpreted boldly but we fear not correctly. The Lords Supper was then adm [inistered] to 69 — say 3 Chi[ldren], 3 visitors (Dr S, Mr Suydam & Methodist School teacher) & ten Methodists, leaving 53 Com[municants] of the ch. After the Com[munion] Dr M read Bp O's letter & addressed the Os[Oneidas] on various subjects & particularly Temperence. Between one & two we went to the Parsonage, examining by the way the Cradles, one of wh had a profusion of silk shawls &c. The 9 chiefs came to us & delivered an address as an answer to Bp O's letter &c wh address was very poorly interpreted by Smith. To this Dr. M replied. Hill then thro Smith gave us an acc[ount] of the Coms[commandments?]

& of a temperence Socty (See report) and we all 8 chiefs C Hill, & Methodist teacher sat down to dinner consisting of 2 dishes of pork & beans, 2 chicken pies, squashes, potatoes, peas & rice pudding afterwards. Rather a deficiency of seats, spoons & tumblers — but upon the whole did admirably. Shook hands aff[ectionate]ly with all & started at 5 as we came.

Took tea with Dr S to whose politeness much indebted. Mr Whitney lent Dr M & myself his chaise & we got home ½ past 9

23. Wednesday. Nearly tired out. Rode with Miss Crawford & little Phebe Warren as far as Beards to give the child some fresh air. An amusing affair last Sunday between Mr B & myself about my being an Irishman. He insisted upon it, & shook me warmly by the hand. The weather was too warm for the child — a little Meno orphan fast sinking into the grave with scrofula wh has carried off several chld from the Mission this yr & wh is a very common disease particularly among the half breeds. Towards Sun set Miss C, her br & myself with 5 of the boys & a young Meno man as guide took a bark canoe & went to Navarino. I paddled part of the way. This mode of conveyance appears very attractive to all who have experienced it. Visited Whitney some stores &c & returned same way after 10 oc.

In the morning of this day we ex[amined] the school of the boys—were gratified—some passed—many ac[quainted] with Geogra[phy] — many wrote — but five of the present in arith —but boys have gone thro here with Dabolls & have commenced surveying, Nat Philoro &c. Dr. M ex[amined] in the Cat[echism]. One of the boys concerned in the late affair remains. None have been sent away — but their friends were requested to take them. Presumptive evidence that the house was set on fire by some of those who were punished.[1]

[1] In the Green Bay *Intelligencer* for Feb. 19, and successive issues, appeared the following advertisement, dated Feb. 6, 1834: "$200 Reward.— The undersigned, believing that an attempt was made by some incendiary

24. (See above) 2 yrs ago when expecting Sacs & Foxes they had spies thro this country, even visiting the Mission. Reason why the french were not frightened.

The dinner today at Mrs. W's was very formal — a written note was sent to each of us.

25. Wrote a letter to Mrs. Relf wh goes of course by Galena I hope I will get home before it — for it may be weeks in going — yet by writing I relieve at least for the time my anxiety about my precious ones at home.

Yesterday morng recd a note to each asking us to dine at Col Boyd's. Consented if at one for we had promised to go to-day with Mr W. to Grand Kakalin. A very good dinner roast venison with currant jelly — boiled chickens & ham &c. Although very hot we had a fine breeze in front of [the] Cols house where we remained until 5 oc when the boat at last appeared with 7 men & Mr. & Mrs. W. & Arndt — the boat leaked much. About a mile above Col B's the settlement ceases where on the left side used to be the R. C. Mission — we went on rowing, very pleasantly till dark when we came to the little Kakalin rapids near to wh Mr. Williams resides 9 miles above Navarino. From here the rest of the way 9 miles the men had to pole, & consequently to keep very near the shore. We were assalted in a most terrible manner by 1000s of mus from wh apparently nothing could defend us. This continued until 2 oc. My face & neck & hands & my legs between the top of boots & knees were bitten all over. The Moon rose at 11. by it Mr C could see my face swolen all over The irritation was intolerable. It affected the mind. And I could easily imagine a man driven to desperation by these insects. The heat was great yet a degree of chiliness & in order to keep off the mus we put on our cloaks & wrapt our faces in our handkerchiefs. About Midnight a slight breeze

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on the evening of the 5th inst. to destroy the buildings occupied by the Protestant Episcopal Mission at this place, hereby gives notice that the above reward will be given to any person or persons who shall disclose and furnish such proof as will lead to the full detection and conviction of the incendiary as aforesaid.— Rich'd F. Cadle, Sup't."—Ed.

sprang up & revived us. The boat was well supplied with lemons, lemon surup, cold meats, bread & cheese. Mr W acknowledged in all his travels he had not experienced such an attack from Mus. Arndt had a net for the hat wh he loaned Dr M & was a great protection to him

30. Wrote up journal this morning Examined the pupils of the girls school upon the ch[urch] cat[echism], Scrip-[ture], & hymns — & was much gratified.

Report of a schooner in the Bay. Here Dr. S. decides that Mr Gregory must not teach again, & and that he must go off with us.

Dr M. stories of England. Dinner at the house of the Father of the teacher of deaf & dumb he brot out with him a little of each dish at a time sent around on plates to each guest by the lady at the head of the family. His story of Williams the broker — 16 servants, prayers — of Drummond, praying & expounding before 4 clergymen — of Bp of Winchester — hymn after dinner.

31. No schooner in sight now, the report of yesterday referred to a boat going to a Mill. It is now 4 weeks since I left my own dear home & precious children. About this time I expected to be there again, & here I am at the farthest distance from Norwalk, with no prospect for more than a fortnight yet of returning! God's will be done. Dr M is going on with his report. Last evening a shower. This morng cool & cloudy.

When the Foxes & Sacs were expeled, 2 yrs ago, a little boy at school who had a good suit of clothes begged permission to have them on every day as he expected soon to be killed & wld then have no opportunity of wearing them out.

Pishe was considered all but dying yesterday — but is now better. She will not talk about religion but assents to proper questions. She is of course childish & occasionally fretful.

I have recd from Miss Cadle a little indian cradle &c for Lill, & a bundle of bark, a canoe & an indian hat

The 39 scholar admitted as a boarder into the school 13

Jany 1831 a full menomenee, Makkemetas was named Jackson Kemper. His fathers name was Kakononequut. He was to be supported for 6 yrs. He deserted Oct 4, 1831.

Mr Cadles donations to the Mission to June 2d 1834 including 2 yrs salary ($400 per ann) amount to $1087.47½.

The day after we came here we drew the following orders. viz. for

Almon Gregory for 6 mos to May 7/34	$125
Sarah Crawford do April 16/34	75
Leonard Groom do do 24/34	150
John Smith in full at rate of $250 per ann	66.70

So cold today we had fire in the parlour for several hours.

Here Gen B & Dr S. The latter gave a certificate to Mr Gregory in favor of a temporary absence on ac[count] of ill health

At Navarino bot for Pishe a little watch & some raisins.

The water here is bad with out ice. It has both in the well & in my pitcher, a screen upon it.

August 2. Yesterday two more schooners were reported in sight,—the report was confirmed to us last night by Mr Whitney who came to see us. The one has about 50 Oneida indians on board—the other has the mail—& this morng I was gratified by recg a letter from home dated 10 July, all well.

Among other papers Mr C has shown me one containing a statement of the boarding children admitted into the school by Roman Catholic parents or guardians & who have been gratuitously taught, clothed & supported. The support of a child is estimated at $40 per ann, clothing 20, instruction 8—no charge for medical attendance or buildings. The period included is from Oct 25–29 to Jany 15–34. The result is, 148 years 11 mos & 10 days at rate of $68 per ann= $10,128 22–100.

Obtained yesterday some Menominee rice & specimens of the plant, flower &c. The grain looks like oats and is called Menominee by the Indians. Fine specimen of lead ore from Galena county by Mr. Whitney. Two fans from Miss Cadle—a wild goose & a prairie hen.

Yesterday I thought & dreampt much of home & of Annest.[1] How great the loss! How vivid the recollection! Mr. Ellis spoke of her beauty & appearance & said she was the most youthful woman to be the mother of children he had ever met with.

Judge Arndt promised to send me some rice to plant.

I asked Mr. Beall to put on paper his recollections of Mr. Cadle's trial.[2] This I consider a necessary caution against accidents.

I have finished reading this day Gutzlaff's voyages along the coast of china[3] p. p. 332. My want of facility in acquiring languages, my actual ignorance of every language except my own, my young & motherless children, my age — would it appears to me unfit me for the important & sacred station of being at the head of a Mission to china. I must write to Mr E. Newton to this effect. The door apparently opening is wonderful. G. considers the inhabitants of China at 362 Millions ⅓ of the people of the earth.

3. Dr M. complaining, will not leave the mission today. He has devoted himself for some days past to the report, & finished it yesterday. Yesterday was exceedingly sultry — today it will probably be as much so — I have three services before me.

Col. Boyd & young Mr Beard[4] here yesterday. Prospects yet gloomy — the first schooner came in full of Oneida Indians, she is very filthy and offensive — the other goes to Chicago. A 3d is expected — but when?

Commenced a letter yesterday to Mrs. Relf. Mr Gregory gave me a Sioux arrow. Mr. Groom returned at 11 last night from the Oneida prarie near little Kakalin & in neighbourhood of Mr. Williams. He has secured about 10 ton of hay

Visited yesterday with Mr. Cadle Mr Perry & Mrs. Irwin.

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[1] A pet name for his deceased wife.— Ed.

[2] See *ante*, p. 419, note 4.— Ed.

[3] Rev. Carl. Gutzlaff's *Journal of three voyages along the coast of China*, 1831-33, published in 1834.— Ed.

[4] Henry S. Baird, then 34 years of age.— Ed.

5. Aug tuesday 11 oc a. m. I am now in Lake Michigan on board the Sheldon Thompson steam boat on my way home. God be praised! Let me bring up my journal to the present. As Mr. Groom & I were going down to Navarino on Sunday morng we heard there was a steamer in sight, but as none was expected presumed it was a mistake. Owing to a mistake in Mr Ellis paper wh appeared again yesterday after a silence of 3 mos & wh he promises to send me, I did not begin to officiate at the fort until 11, & sat some time with Lt Denny[1] & fam who I found were from Pitts[burgh]. He is br[other] to the member of congress. In the midst of the service before I got to the Litany, the Steamer I now am on passed the fort. My feelings were greatly excited for the moment & before the ante Com[munion] Ser[vice] I called Dr Satterlee up, who assured she could not under any circumstances leave here for some hours. I crossed after service to Mr. Whitneys & begged him to make inquiries concerning the sailing of the boat. Dined with Mr. Ellis and spent some time with Mr. and Mrs. [John Y.] Smith conversing con[cerning] baptism & particularly infant baptism. They expressed themselves satisfied & that their difficulties were removed — but did not bring their child to baptism. Mr. S in reference to the Mission & to the time that he & his wife were there said, the assistants were so few & were so occupied in daily concerns that they had no time to give to the religious education of the children. Officiated at 3 at Navarino & at 5 at the fort. Mr. Ellis, Groom & Crawford the Methodist teacher of the Oneidas at the fort in the Morng — & they & Smith & Whitney in the afternoon. Dr. & Mrs. Satterlee who had just arrived in the Steam boat, Rev. Mr. Porter[2] Pres[byterian] clergy[man] of Chicago likewise are on Steam boat, Lt. Clary, some soldiers, & serjeant Watkins & wife & child (the latter I bap[d]) came to the service at Nav. The S. T. has come from Buffalo with 150 soldiers

[1] St. Clair Denny, first lieutenant, 5th infantry.— Ed.

[2] Rev. Jeremiah Porter, "the first resident Protestant pastor in Chicago." — Davidson, p. 154.— Ed.

recruited at New York, with their officers & other passengers. The recruits are left at their different stations as they are wanted, 13 are to remain here & the rest will go to the other posts — at fort Winnebago, the Mississippi &c. Having obtained some whiskey some of them became intoxicated and insubordinate. They were taken towards eve on the other side of the river & encamped in tents south of the fort. There has been today a melancholy display of Indians in Nav[arino]. Many wild Menominees fantastically dressed were about — but the Oneidas who have just arrived[1] were met most imprudently by their friends from Duck Creek & a scene of great intoxication and degradation ensued. The new comers were considerably civilized — had been industrious and frugal at home, & some had brot with them considerable sums of money i. e. a few hundred dollars. They were well, prettily, & neatly dressed — the women with men's hats ornamented with ribbons &c. But whiskey was cheap & plenty — & too many fell victims to its direful effects. I saw a man holding an infant in a cradle knock his wife prostrate twice — others rolling in the sand unable to rise. The whiskey was generally got I suppose from the shanties near Smiths. Crawford came down with the intention of hastening their departure to Duck Creek. They are all or most all professing Methodists. Happy wld it have been for them could they [have] been induced to travel with their goods today instead of spending the day in this awful manner. Not one at ch — Crawford attended all my services. 400 [dollars] were pd for the transportation or carrying of 110 Oneidas (Men, women & chld) from Buffalo to G. B. They behaved badly on board — when sea sick, vomited whenever they were on deck, in the hold over the baggage &c. — & the vessel, the Indiana, became contaminated, & soon after they landed some had premonitory symptoms of colera. There is by a law of the Territory a fine of 200 dolls for selling ardent spirits to Indians — & yet it cannot be in-

[1] A part of the Oneidas of New York, who were shipped to Wisconsin by the general government.— Ed.

forced for magistrates, traders & it is said all the french besides others will sell to them — & consequently no jury would convict a man of this crime.

Saw Col Croghan at the fort. I wld not have known him He recollected me & said it was 17 yrs since we met. He arrived with Judge Doty, Mr Beard &c in the Nancy Dawson. Is Inspector Gen: of the army.

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He married a Miss Livingston. He assured me he wld have been at Ch had he not been expecting for some hours to start for fort Winnebago. He, Lt. Chapman & a soldier are going on horseback. From there he goes up the Misspi & is to locate a new fort &c & is behind his time.

Took tea with Judge Doty & spent an hour very agreeably. We are invited to dine with them tomorrow, provided they can get any thing to give us to eat.

Called for Mr Cadle at Judge Arndts where I found he had taken tea. Introduced to Judge Irwin[1] who holds the station Doty had before he was turned out by Jackson.

Milnor read our report to the Mission family — all, & particularly C & his sister appeared to approve of it.

We determine with grateful hearts to embrace the opportunity afforded by the Steam boat.

4. On friday eveng I made a short address to the children at family prayers, & now took leave of them, exhorting them to love one another. We packed up immediately after breakfast. Talked with Suydam about his becoming a candidate, directed him & promised to send him Horn's Intro. He gave me two MSS maps one of Green Bay, the other of Fox river — & a menomenie war club. Started

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[1] David Irwin. Henry Merrill, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 368, speaks of meeting him in Green Bay in the spring of 1834, and describes him as "a Judge of the Territory, one of the executive lights, sent out from the East to decide upon the law and evidence among the benighted inhabitants of this far-off and wild country. He was boarding with Judge Arndt." See further characterizations of Irwin in *Id.*, vi, pp. 378, 446, 447. He succeeded Doty as U. S. district judge, in 1832, holding office until the formation of Wisconsin Territory (1836).— Ed.

from Mission house before 9 bidding all & aff[ectionate] farewell. Found on our arrival at the boat she does not sail till 4 oc. Called at Whitneys, Smiths, Ellis — & crossed to the fort & called at Gen Brookes, Lt. Clary & Dr. Satterlees. B's youngest child very ill, it was on this acc Mrs. B not at Ch yesterday. S[mith]s were out. At Lt C's met Mr Porter.

Dined at Dotys — two chickens, whips, &c. They were at school together — Ives was with them — the butt of the boys & laughed at by the girls, to whom he used to show his compositions. I[ves] was never a common soldier & if in the army at all it must have been for a short time, perhaps he marched as a drafted militiaman to Sacketts harbour for a week or two. When I[ves] grew up he was sometimes supposed to be deranged. Doty knew Dr Satterlee when he was a frivolous dandy & cannot think much of him. To us he appears a noble minded active X^an^ gentleman. Capt & Mrs Croghan are it is said the only persons in the fort belonging to our Ch — & yet they have never step'd forward or invited us or crossed over to hear us — nor was I until yesterday introduced to her — & then she gave me the tips of her three fingers. D[oty] has travelled much thro this country — been to Lake Superior — up the Miss river to source &c Has a fine collection of specimens & bestowed several upon me, of agates, copper ore &c a sioux pipe, a deers head &c. I gave Cadle my Gutzlaff. We started before 4 oc — eleven cabin passengers — the boat & its accomodations vastly inferior to the Michigan. [Joseph] Rolett[e] the trader from Prairie du Chien, [Hercules] Dousman educated by Dr Rudd & son of the rich [Michael] Dousman of Mac — the son intelligent & living at the Prairie, Lt. Lacey,[1] a surveyor of the Territory lands, Winant collector of Mac[2] &c Cadle, Doty, Groom, Smith, Whitney, Satterlee, Dr Worrell,[3] Clary &c

[1] Edgar M. Lacey, 2d lieutenant, 5th infantry.— Ed.

[2] Our diarist appears to have mistaken the name. Abraham Wendell was at that time collector of customs at Mackinac.— Ed.

[3] Edward Worrell, assistant army surgeon.— Ed.

saw us off. The wind being a head blew the steam in our faces, no awning on upper deck — the heat was therefore great — almost impossible to pass to bow of the boat. Suydam's maps examined & pronounced incorrect — particularly Little Sturgeon Bay & the names of several of the islands. About 9 oc a fog coming up & being near some islands we stopped for several hours. It appears we waited for the accomodation of Roulet & his party from 10 to 4 — & now we are to stop at Louse island to accomodate the collector.

5. My berth proved a sad one — bed bugs &c & very rocking — slept very little. Rose at day break when the boat started. Many passengers complain of dirt & vermin of the boat. Passed the beautiful eagle harbour — grape islands. Death's door the N: part of the Peninsula between L Mich & Green Bay, Bouers [Bowyer's] bluffs a most splendid display of natural fortifications — high perpendicular wall, angles & apparently port holes. When at Potawatamie or Louse island the Capt took the Collector ashore to fix upon a scite for a light house the Gov[ernment] has ordered to be built. With others went along. The water wonderfully transparent. The cliff nearly 100 feet in perpendicular height. We could land but that was all a shore was apparently formed by the gradual crumbling of the cliff — but it was only 2 or 3 feet wide. There were occasional ravines, but too steep to be ascended. The cedar trees crowned the cliff & were occasionally seen on the sides. After a vain attempt to ascend, we returned to the boat & coasted the cliff for some distance. It was a splendid and delightful scene. The cliff some times leaning beyond a perpendicular & disposed apparently in horizontal strata as if erected by the hand of man, looked like ruined castles or forts. It was a light gray limestone. The clearness of the atmo & the transparency of the water increased the brilliancy & picturesqueness of the scene. Finding the cliff extended a great way & concluding it wld require a day instead of an hour to examine the island &c we returned. Much is said of the clearness of these waters — certain sub-

jects can be seen at a great depth say 6 or 7 fathoms — a white towel for instance tied to the line.

Doty spoke of the farming establishment for the Menominies. The two who are said to be appointed farmers are Arndt who even now when a judge sells whiskey * * * & Perry who is said to be lazy & who when he wants to have the garden of one of the farms hoed, after waiting a week there doing nothing, made a bee & treated the Indians to whiskey while they hoed the garden on a sunday. It is doubtful however whether either of these men have been appointed. The death of Gov Porter is not considered a calamitous event for the Territory or the Indians. * * * All parties appear to be unanimous in the opinion that the Indians are injured on all sides. The government, the army, the traders, the agents (& the Missionaries to a certain extent) accuse each other. Many agents appear to prey upon them & have grown rich. The Government forces them to give up land wh it the Gov does not want. Some conscientious officers assert that traders have come within musket shot of their forts & sold without reserve, & that they cannot obtain from Gov the authority necessary to repress their efforts & drive the traders away. Rolet & others appear to think that all the efforts pledged to the Menos for their lands will be made without producing the least good. 5 good farm houses have been erected on cleared land for farmers who are to receive 500 [dollars] & their wives 300 — & huts for the Indians in the woods — wh they say they will not live in. A saw mill is erected & a grist mill, both of wh it is feared will go to ruin — for no timber is cut, & the Menos have not yet learned & it is supposed they never will learn to plough &c.

Rolet an intelligent shrewd man has been 30 yrs an indian fur trader — has lived for yrs among — a canadian of french descent. Speaks severely of our Gov's conduct towards the Indians. He has a son at a presbyterian school & a dg[daughter] at a quaker sch near New York. He was educated at the Catholic college of Quebec. Appears tolerant perhaps deistical in his sentiments. He says Mr

Cadle might have wiped [whipped] the boys till the blood came & starved & confined them for mos & there wld have been no complaint, but the cutting of the hair is a disgrace to the indian not to be forgiven. He has authority & money from two fathers to prosecute Mr C — but he will not do it for he esteems both C & his sister. Even in his own case he says he cld not have forgiven the cutting off the hair. The boys were taken away last winter by Pauquette without authority — Mr C ought not to have suffered them to go. R says the Mission has many enemies at Nav he was written to to prosecute &c. Dousman says the Mission has done much good, has been a great blessing & produced considerable effect at Green Bay. When he heard the heads were not shaved but only the hair cut short, he thot the affair quite changed. R has told me much conc[erning] the Indians & their lands. The wilder they are the better in his estimation — at all events they are free from many of the vices of the whites. The Sioux are yet in a wild state — men & women dress in Buffalo skins — the men have boot moccasins, the hair inside. Their robes are painted with figures of animals &c on outside. In hunting &c they often guide their horses by bearing their bodies to the side they wish to go. Their lodges are rendered very comfortable in winter by having Buffalo robes hung up in them. In hunting the Buffalo they go with their families in parties of 1 or 200. Two or 3 of the young warriors of the first families are appointed soldiers of the lodge. When they find a herd they fix a stake with a tuft of grass on the top beyond wh no hunter is to go. The men then, in two parties surround the herd, & having formed their circle approach & fire their arrows. Some of the animals when enraged will break thro but most are slain. Each warrior knows his own arrows, & is entitled to the skin & tongue of the animal he slew. The meat is in common. If ardor leads some of the hunters beyond the boundary stake, they can be punished by the soldiers by having their sugar kettles broken or their lodges torn down &c. A scalp is a cause of great joy —

they dance frequently for half a year and then bury it. Lt. Lacy states that at fort Winnebago a woman supposed to be 90 danced incessantly for 2 days and nights when her son then an old man had obtained three scalps, & died in consequence of the fatigue. A family with a scalp does not hunt. It is a mark of distinction for a Sioux to have killed a man. An indian can fast a long while, but when he has plenty he is constantly eating, & they eat an immense deal. Their meat particularly the Buffalo roasted before the fire & cut off in thin slices as it is cooked & eaten is far more delicious than beef and more juicy. They will rise several times in the night & eat. Altho the Sioux have salt in their country particularly at Devil Lake they never use it except for their horses. Their meat is dried in the sun. Stratagem, or to take by surprise is their great object in war. If they know they are expected 300 will turn away from 3. They think more of the loss of ten men than we do of 1,000. The Sioux have shields made of Buffalo sinews joined together which will break the force of any ball. And the Assiboins once a tribe of the Sioux but now at war with them dress on horseback with a complete armour of sinews — even the whole head is covered except the eyes. R. has been along Green Bay &c at least 40 times. Along the greater part of the Ouisconsin it is prairie land along wh a gig can travel. Prairie du Chien is 4 miles above mouth of Wisconsin. 300 miles above is St. Peters river, fort snelling & 4 above St. Anthony's falls. R's traders pass thro an immense country almost entirely prairie to buy skins. It is 1200 miles from Prairie du Chien to Selkirks settlement — where one could almost go in a gig, R was the first to take cattle there & he got 150 dollars a head.

Canoe (bark) of Chippeways this morng to sell fish & took bread. Passed a sch from Chicago — & Marshall Ney & Capt Ward. His wife, & idiot boy chained on board.

R's men sometimes covered with snow & remain in that situation uninjured for 24 hours.

At Mac at 11, at night.

6. When I arose at day break found we were still at Mac wh we did not leave until 7 this morng. Saw an indian boy spearing fish & saw large trout & some white fish.

Sad reports concerning Ferry — he has gone to Boston.[1] Rolet * * * smoked 25 cygars & drank 8 glasses brandy & water yesterday. Used to smoke 250 cygars per week, only learnt 11 years since.

A delightful but warm day. Passed one or two rapids going up. Our accommodations here have been bad enough, but we are apparently getting used to them. No subordination as we can see among the men. Sailors &c come & sleep in the cabin day & night. Bed bugs, dirty towels & a whole host of disagreeables. Mr. Oakes, wife & 2 chld from Lake de Flambeau where he has resided 4 yrs as a trader, on board. His first wife mentioned in treaty of fond du Lac.[2] He states that in winter of 32, 33 several lodges of Chippeways who had gone after Buffalo were starved to death, including about 60 persons. The Sioux had driven away the animals & the people perished before they could return. Before dark began to cross Saginaw bay.

7. Slept well last night thank God. Took this morng a sedative & was soon relieved from a slight head ache wh attacked me last night & wh I suppose was caused by living so much upon white fish & trout since we left Mac. The water was quite shallow as we approached the termination of the bay about 10 oc we could see most distinctly the bottom Delighted to see fort Gratiot, Wards &c & now & then many signs of cultivation vessels often appeared & one steam boat the Gen Gratiot. Finished McKenney's voyage[3] & Hoggs life of Sir W Scott.

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[1] "Mr. Ferry's health failed and 6th August, 1834, he was released from missionary service."— Davidson, p. 50.— Ed.

[2] Charles H. Oakes. By the treaty at Fond du Lac of Superior, concluded Aug. 5, 1826, his wife Teegaushau, a Chippewa, and each of her children, were awarded a section of land.— Ed.

[3] T. L. McKenney and James Hall's *Sketches of a tour to the lakes; character of the Chippewa Indians, and of incidents connected with the treaty of Fond du Lac* (Baltimore, 1827).— Ed.

8. Arrived at Detroit yesterday at ½ past 5 — went to post office and saw Mrs Norvill — who stated there were 5 or 6 cases of colera daily I learnt afterwards the average rate of deaths daily of that disease were 4. Here Gregory left us. Recd l[letter]s from Mrs Relf & Nichols. Started at 6½ & at 3 this morng arrived at Huron. A stage started for Mount Vernon before 4 in wh Dr M. went. Steerage passengers occupy best seats on deck, sleep on them night & day, one slept last night on the chain cable. A foolish fellow with essences for sale, ate a water melon before breakfast & during the day took every now & then some essence. Stopt at Cleveland at 11 & staid an hour — at Fairhaven or grand river & left it at 5. Deeply agonized today by the letter of yesterday. Got a new captain at Huron. Took on board some ladies, & things consequently assumed a better appearance. Know no one now but Lt. Lacey.

9. The boat stopt last night while I was asleep at Erie & to day we arrived at 11 at Buffalo. Not a storm or accident during the whole of the trip on the upper Lakes. Thanks to God thro X[Christ] my Red[eemer] for all his mercies. Found that 9 had died of the colera here yesterday. Dined with Shelton — Mr Rathbone with whom he lives ill with the colera. 3 fam[ilie]s moving could not find Farmers Map of Michigan. Nothing from Ingraham for my 8 Dolls. Proof of the bad state of the Sheldon Thompson. Saw Morris & Porter. Old Mrs M not yet recovered from her Mac walk. Lts[letters] 2 from Mrs R. 1 from Lill. Mrs R perseveres. Started at 9 in the Stage for Batavia.

10. Rode all night very slow in a crowded stage & arr at Batavia at 8. Buel along — not polished. Dinner at Evans [ville]— called at Lays. Attentions of J. Milnor. Officiated twice. Rev. Mr Ernst — his opinion of Garvin. Milnor's presents — pd the bill — sat up to wake me.

11. Started at midnight alone — breakfast at Canandaigua. Dinner at —— Rev Dr Mills. An impudent observation.

[DR. KEMPER'S EXPENSE ACCOUNT.]

1834, July	3	a porter	50
		to Albany	6.00
		tea	75
	4	boots	12½
		porter	50
		breakfast	1.00
		to Utica	10.00
		porter	18½
		dinner	75
		lemonade	12½
		an indian	10
		supper	62½
	5	to Auburn	8.00
		breakfast	62½
		lemonade	12½
		barber	6½
		dinner	64½
		Paid to Canandaigua	4.00
		leads for pencil	12½
	6	boots	6½
		bill at Auburn	2.50
	7	servant	12½
		breakfast	75
		to Buffalo	7.00
		barber	6½
		dinner	1.00
		lemonade	18¾
	8	supper & bed	1.25
		breakfast (& Mrs Davis)	1.12½
		lemonade	12½
		dinner	25
		baths	75
			$49.43¼
July	9	ride to Whirl pool	2.00
		Western Guide	25
		boots & brushes	12½
		ferry	75
		guide &c under falls	1.50
1834, July	9	Hooker	2.00
		specimen	1.00
		beer &c	37½
		Bill at Falls	8.00
		return from Falls	4.00
		medicine	37½
		blank book	37½
		brushes	6¼
	10.	Bill at Buffalo	3.50
		boots	12½
		for ride to Falls	8.00
		with Shelton for Ingraham	8.00
		to Green Bay	50.00
	11.	Beaumonts experiment	2.00
		a poor man	1.00
	12	barber	12½
	14	do	12½
		wine	25
	15	dinner	50
		mocasins	3.00
		2 mokoks	37½
		beer	6¼
	16	barber	12
		beer	6¼
	21	taking Dr M to Oneida	2.00
	23	leather purse	25
	24	looking glass stand for Duck C	2.00
	24	row to Navarino	25
		books & lemons	1.25
	30	raisins & watch for Pishe	28
Aug.	2	Letter from Mrs Relf	25

1834, Aug. 4	left for Leggins for boys of school	3.50 1.00
6	To Dr Milnor little basket	18¾
7	barber	18¾
		95.12½
	letters	50
	M's papers	.27
	Gregory for chairs	10
8	Milnor	5
	us to Huron	36
	me to Buff[alo]	8.
9	Boot blacker	.25
	tavern	1.00
	soda	6¼
	bath	37½
	mending boot	6¼
	Stage to Batavia	2.00
10.	Boots (at Batavia)	12½
11	to Canandaigua	3.00
	breakfast	37½
1834, Aug. 11	to auburn	2.00
	Letters at Buffalo	68¾
	twine	12½
	dinner, tea, bed	1.00
	to Ritchfield	4.50
12	breakfast	37½
	dinner	37½
	beer &c	10¼
14	At Ritchfield	1.00
	to Albany	3.50
	B. din. sup	1.12½
	to N York	2.00
		81.81
15	boot black	6¼
	the porter	50
	omnibus	25
	Brooklyn	8
	Book for Lill	62½
16	the porter	25
	to Norwalk	62½
	breakfast	37½
	hack	12½
		2.89¼

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND MISSION IN GREEN BAY, 1825-41.

The following documents touching upon the formative period of Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal) in Green Bay, and the Indian mission for a time maintained there by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of that denomination, are selected from the archives of this Society. They should be studied in connection with Dr. Kemper's journal, already given, and in a measure illustrate the latter. For purpose of identification, the press-mark of each document is given; *e. g.*, [G. L. P., XVIII: 74] = Grignon, Lawe, and Porlier Papers, Vol. XVIII, No. 74. Besides this collection we have drawn upon the Papers of George Boyd, Indian Agent, also in our possession, and upon our large collection of unbound MSS.; the several sources are indicated by obvious press-marks.

These documents, together with the Kemper journal, throw strong light on the hitherto almost neglected history of the Cadle mission, and incidentally give us intimate pictures of life in Green Bay during an interesting period of its development.

INTRODUCING MR. NASH.

MACKINA 21st July 1825

DEAR SIR — You will receive these few lines by Mr Nash[1] a Minister of the Gospel which He intends to Establish a Missionary at Green Bay if he finds the place suitable and

[1] Rev. Norman Nash, of Philadelphia. A. G. Ellis, who came to Green Bay as Nash's assistant, states specifically in his "Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 233-235, that they "arrived at the Bay nearly at the same time, late in August," 1824. This letter and subsequent documents, however, show that it was 1825. Nash opened his school in the old Indian

a little Encouragement he is a pliscopalian Minister and as i presume you are of that Church you i presume will Endevour to advise him to the Best as he will be a Stranger at your place He has preachd in our quarter and the people Seem much pleased with him and I take the liberty to introduce him to you

With Respect Yours &c

JOHN DUNN

John Law Esqu[1]

Indorsed: "Not answered."

[G. L. P., XVIII: 74.]

ORGANIZATION OF PARISH.[2]

Vestry Book.

Original meeting. At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Green Bay held at the office of Robert Irwin Jr. Esquire, on monday the 10th. day of April A. D. 1826, J. D. Doty Esquire was appointed Chairman.

Agency building, on the west side of the river. Ellis soon separated from his chief and opened another Episcopal school on the east side — "in the new school house" at "Shantytown." Ellis says he had "over eighty scholars," while Nash "had a few scholars from the west side; he also preached to the neighbors on Sundays." Nash was, according to Ellis, given to "studies and sundry amusements, portrait painting and boat building," and in the spring "left for New York, having closed the house, with all his, and the church's property left in an insecure state — the house being isolated, and at a considerable distance from others." In June, the house was broken into and much of the property stolen. The rest, Ellis and the sheriff, Ebenezer Childs, secured and turned over to the church committee. Nash never returned to Wisconsin.— ED.

[1] Lawe was an English Jew, whose relatives in the Fox River valley were all Catholics. But he and several others in Green Bay, who had in no way been connected with the Protestant Episcopal denomination (such as Henry S. Baird, who had been reared a Scotch Presbyterian), in a desire to have some Protestant church established in the settlement, welcomed the Episcopalian missionary, and some of them became active workers in parish administration.— ED.

[2] The following proceedings are from the original leaves of the vestry book, kept by Henry S. Baird, and presented to the Society by his daughter, Mrs. Louise S. Favill. Accompanying the formal records are the original drafts of the several resolutions; also the original declaration of faith, with autograph signatures of the vestrymen.— ED.

The object of the meeting being stated by the Reverend Mr. Nash, On motion it was,

Appointment of seven vestry-men.

Resolved, That the Vestry of the Church at this place do consist of seven persons: and upon balloting, the following persons were declared duly elected to said vestry,[1] to wit, John Lawe, John P. Arndt, J. D. Doty, R. Irwin Jr., A. G. Ellis, Daniel Whitney and H. S. Baird.

Adjournment.

Whereupon this meeting was adjourned without day.

J. D. DOTY, Chairman.

First meeting of the vestrymen.

The members of the vestry (with the exception of D. Whitney) having assembled at the time and place above mentioned, proceeded to organize a meeting, J. D. Doty being appointed Chairman, for the present year.

The following declaration was read and signed by the members of the vestry then present, viz.

Declaration and qualification of vestry.

"We, whose names are annexed unto this instrument, *do hereby* declare that we do believe the Holy Scriptures of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT to be the word of GOD, and to contain all things necessary to SALVATION; and do *Solemnly promise*, to conform to the doctrine and worship of the *Protestant Episcopal Church*, in the United States, and to endeavor to promote the interest of the same in all our Official acts as Vestry-men of CHRIST CHURCH.

Signed.

J. D. DOTY,
JOHN P. ARNDT
JOHN LAWE
ROBERT IRWIN, Jr.
A. G. ELLIS,
H. S. BAIRD.

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[1] The original draft of the resolution bears a memorandum of the votes cast, as follows: Doty, 9; R. Irwin, Jr. and Ellis, 8 each; Baird, 6; Arndt and Lawe, 9 each; Whitney, 7; A. J. Irwin, 3; George Johnston, Lieut. Andrew Lewis (3rd infantry), and R. Irwin, Sr., 2 each; William Dickinson, Jacques Porlier, Lewis Rouse, Ebenezer Childs, and H. B. Brevoort (Indian agent), 1 each.— ED.

Appointment of secretary.

On motion, Resolved that Henry S. Baird be appointed Standing Secretary to the Vestry.

Appointment of wardens.

Resolved, that A. G. Ellis, and Robert Irwin, Jr. be appointed wardens, for the present year.

Committee to draft bye-laws.

Resolved, that a committee of three persons be appointed to draft a code of Bye-laws, for the government of said Vestry; and that Messrs. Ellis, R. Irwin, Jr. and Arndt compose said Committee.

Committee to obtain subscriptions.

Resolved, that Messrs. Lawe and Arndt do constitute a Committee to Circulate a Subscription Paper for erecting a Church at Green Bay.

Adjournment.

Meeting then adjourned until thursday next at 3 O'clock P. M. at the office of R. Irwin Jr. Esq.

H. S. Baird, Secretary

J. D. Doty Chn.

Thursday (3 O'clock P. M.) April 13, 1826.

Members present 13 April, 1826.

The vestry met pursuant to adjournment present J. D. Doty, Chairman, H. S. Baird Secretary, and John Lawe, R. Irwin Jr. A. G. Ellis and J. P. Arndt members

Qualification of D. Whitney.

Daniel Whitney appeared, signed the necessary qualification, and took his place as a member of the vestry.

Appointment of Treasurer.

On motion, Resolved that a Treasurer to the Vestry be elected by ballot.

Postponed.

But after balloting several times: (no person having received a majority of the whole number of votes) it is on motion Resolved that the election of said Treasurer be postponed until the next meeting of the Vestry.

Location of scite for the Church.

Resolved that the vestry now proceed to locate the scite of the Church, which is to be erected at this place; and that said location be made by Ballot.

Where located. And upon Balloting, it is declared that said Church shall be erected upon a lot of land upon the North side and adjoining the County Seat, within the County of Brown:

Adjournment. And then the Vestry adjourned to meet again on the first day of June next, at the office of R. Irwin Jr. at 4 O'clock P. M.

H. S. Baird, Secy. J. D. Doty.

Thursday June 1st, 1826 (4 o'clock P. M.)

Members present. The vestry met pursuant to adjournment, Present, J. D. Doty, President, H. S. Baird Secretary, D. Whitney, R. Irwin, Jr. & A. G. Ellis & John Lawe — members.

Appointment of treasurer. The appointment of Treasurer having been postponed at a former meeting, to the present time — the members proceeded to elect one by ballot. John Lawe was found to have a majority of the whole number, and was thereupon declared duly elected.

John Lawe elected.

Regular meetings of the vestry. Resolved 1stly. That this vestry meet on the first monday in every other month, and that the chairman be authorised to call special meetings of the same during the interim, when he may deem it expedient for the transaction of business.

Who shall constitute a meeting. 2ondly. That it shall require a majority of the whole of the members for the transaction of business.

Com. for sub. make report. The Committee appointed to procure subscriptions for the church, make report, which is accepted, and they are discharged from the performance of any further duty.

Subscription paper, how disposed of. Resolved that the subscription paper be committed to the care of the Wardens of the vestry, to circulate and obtain subscriptions— after which said paper to be deposited with the Treasurer; who shall give to Mr. Nash a copy thereof certified under the hand of the Chairman.

And thereupon the vestry adjourned until the first monday in August next at 4 O'clock P. M.

H. S. BAIRD, Secy. J. D. DOTY.

[Unbound MSS.]

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION.[1]

G. BAY, April 24, 1830.

As yet no children have been received into the Mission Family, from whose parents any compensation is expected or wished for. The principal condition of admission as boarders is, that the children be partakers in some degree of Indian blood. In the case of children of *persons able and willing to pay* for the instruction & provision furnished by this establishment, the rate of tuition & boarding will not exceed $30 pr ann. The children of the indigent will be instructed and boarded gratuitously; if there are those of others willing to pay in part or wholly, they will be admitted with such an understanding. Yr.

R. F. CADLE.

[Unbound MSS.]

PRICE FOR A SITE.

[Forwarded, but unsigned.]

GREEN BAY, April 30th 1830

The Rev. R. F. Cadle

DR SIR,— In complyance with your request I forward you my price for the lot of land which you spoke to me about for a site for your Mission, the price will be One thousand Dollars for which sum I will give you a Quit-claim Deed of the lot spoken of

I am Sir Yours very
Respectfully

Rev. R. F. Cadle

[G. L. P., XXV: 28.]

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[1] See *ante*, p. 411, note 2, for historical sketch of the Cadle mission.— ED.

THE ARRANGEMENTS EXPLAINED.

The undersigned respectfully gives the following explanation of the arrangements which he would wish to make respecting all children committed to the Mission School at present under his superintendence.

And, first, with respect to dayscholars.

If the parents are able to pay for their tuition the charge pr quarter will be $2.00 for such as are under 14 years of age; if over 14 years the charge will be $2.50. Parents not able to pay will be charged nothing. The school will throughout the year open at 9 o'clock A. M: the morning exercises will close at half past 12 o'clock until the 1st day of March: the afternoon exercises will until the 1st day of March begin at half past 1 o'clock & continue until about 4 o'clock. There will be two examinations in a year; viz, in Decr. & in June, after which there will be one weeks vacation: the first examination will be held in June next. The school will not be open on Christmas day, nor New Years day, nor Ash Wednesday, nor Good Friday, nor Ascension day, nor Thanksgiving day. It is not wished to receive any scholar for less time than a quarter.

Secondly, with regard to Boarders.

The Supt does not wish to receive any children under 4 years of age. He would prefer, too, that the children should not be over 14 years of age, although others of a greater age may be admitted at the discretion of the Supt. It will be expected that the children be committed to the entire control of the Supt of this Institution. Unless the control be entire he would be unwilling to take the charge of them. For such parents as are able to pay the charge for the year will be $30.00, exclusively of clothing. Such as are able to pay in part may do so; such as cannot pay at all will be charged nothing: but from both will be expected an instrument in writing committing their children to my care for a specified period. Those who pay in full will not be requested to enter into any written engagement,

and may withdraw their children from this Mission at their pleasure, though during their connexion with it they must be subject to its rules equally with others & be restrained from visiting. Those who have agreed to pay in part may remove their children from the Mission before the stipulated time by making payment in full. No payment is expected or wished from the full blood Indians. The children boarding at the Mission, I will engage, will be furnished with suitable & sufficient clothing, bedding & provisions; in sickness they will have medical attendance & nursing care; they will have their hours of recreation as well as of employment & study: they will be taught the usual branches of an English education, such as reading, writing, arithmetic & geography; and, in addition, it is contemplated to teach the girls house-keeping, sewing & knitting and eventually spinning & weaving — and the boys farming. Every indulgence will be showed to them that is consistent with the encouragement of industry & the maintenance of discipline. The particular rules for the government of the school & family will be cheerfully submitted to all who may wish to ascertain their nature.

RICHD F. CADLE.

Dec. 14th 1830

The dayschool will be opened on Monday the 20th inst.

Addressed: "John Lawe Esq. Present."
Boyd, III: 135.]

CADLE TO LOUIS GRIGNON.

Dec. 29th 1830.

DR SIR,—I take the liberty of sending to you a letter addressed to Mr Powell;[1] which I should be very much obliged to you to forward to him whenever a convenient opportunity should occur.

As you expressed a wish yesterday for your son Pierre to remain a short time at the School, may I request the

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[1] Capt. William Powell, fur trader.— ED.

favour, if you still have such wish, of your calling previously in order to my submitting to you the rules that have been adopted for the regulation of the School?

I remain truly Yrs,

RICHD F. CADLE.

L. Grignon, Esq.
[G. L. P., XXVI: 43.]

TO P. B. GRIGNON.

May 18th 1831

DEAR SIR, I have been happy in receiving your note of this day & with it an accession of a Menominee pupil. I will take good care of him, & must solicit you to keep his father in the good disposition towards this School which he now has.

I remn. Respectfy. & truly Yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

P. B. Grignon Esq.
[G. L. P., XXVII: 32.]

BILL AGAINST LAWE.

John Lawe

To Richd F. Cadle, Dr

					$ cts
For tuition of Maria Law from July 15, 1830 to Nov. 10 1830					2.30
"	"	Mary Lawe	"	"	2.30
"	"	Rebecca Lawe	"	"	2.88
"	"	Jane Lawe	"	"	2.30
"	"	David Lawe	16,	"	2.88
					$12.66
		(E. E.)			2.03
					$10.63

GREEN BAY Feb. 17, 1831.

Cr. By 1 quartr Lamb $1.03
4 chickens 1.00
$2.03

GREEN BAY June 8th 1831.

Received payment in full of the above account.

RICHD F. CADLE.

[Unbound MSS.]

TO LAWE.

Sep. 3d. 1831

DEAR SIR,— It would be a satisfaction to myself if you could examine the position of the stakes on the line between your lot & the Mission Lot — on a part of which I wish to put up a fence. The workmen have commenced this day, but will not build the line fence till next week, & before they begin I hope you may be able to visit the grounds, so that you may be satisfied that no mistake is committed.

I remⁿ Respʸ. & truly yrs.

R. F. CADLE.

To John Lawe Esq., Present.

Indorsed: "No answer."

[G. L. P., XXVIII: 20.]

AN APPEAL TO GOTHAM.[1]

Green Bay Mission.

A special Agent of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society established by the General Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church, is now in this city, deputed

[1] In the annual report of the directors of the D. & F. M. Society, presented in October, 1832, and published in the *Proceedings* of the Society for that year (pp. 21 et seq.), the directors say that their "confidence in the individuals to whom the management of the enterprise [the Green Bay mission] has been committed, continues undiminished," and there is "indisputable evidence * * * that much good has already been accomplished through the instrumentality of this benevolent undertaking;" nevertheless, "during the preceding year, this Mission has been to the Board a cause of painful and unceasing anxiety * * * solely from considerations concerned with the pecuniary concerns of this branch of the Society's operations." A public meeting of Episcopalians in New York was held in Christ church, in that city, in April, 1831, whereat it was recommended that the Green Bay Mission be taken under the "special and permanent patronage" of the diocese of New York, by supplying the Society "with the necessary funds to carry it on." The rector of each parish, with laymen, were directed to "solicit subscriptions and donations" for the purpose. Subsequently, the convention of New York, led by Bishop Onderdonk, took steps to make this movement effectual. The meeting here called, was to take part therein.— ED.

for the purpose of presenting to the friends of the church *the extreme necessity* of prompt and liberal efforts to sustain the Green Bay Mission, and prevent its *immediate and total failure.* In this emergency the Board of Agents of the Green Bay Mission, in this city, propose to have a meeting of such as are willing to step forward in aid of this important mission, and relieve it from its present *great and perilous embarrassment*, in Christ Church, this evening, (Monday, Oct. 31,) at 7 o'clock, when the Agent will state the actual situation of the mission. The attendance of all persons, friendly to the object, is particularly solicited. Great dependence has been placed by the society on the promise given to it of the support of that mission in this diocese. That dependence was fully justified. And it is to be hoped that the friends of the mission in New York will not be backward in meeting the reasonable expectations of the society.

Signed in behalf of the Board of Agents

BENJN. T. ONDERDONK,
Chairman.

B. L. WOLLEY, Secretary pro tem.

New York, Oct. 31, 1831.

[*New York American*, Oct. 31, 1831.]

SHALL THE SOCIETY BE INCORPORATED?

Dec. 28. 1831.

DEAR SIR, — May I submit the subject of the inclosed paper to you, & solicit your opinion in relatn to it? It is a copy of an extract of a letter from the Cor. Sec. of the Missy. Socy. recd. by the last mail.

Respy. & truly yrs,
R. F. Cadle.

Addressed: "H. S. Baird, Esq."

[Enclosed in the foregoing.]

Report to a Comee. of the Exece. Comee. on the subject of a charter of Incorporation for the Socy.

"That they are sensibly struck with the statements of Mr Cadle shewing the necesity of something of the kind.

The evil complained of is, the uncertain hold which the Institution at Green Bay has upon the Indian children. It seems that after children are received, fed, clothed, & partially instructed, the parents are apt to claim & take them away. This is a state of things not to be endured, for by it the labours & expenditure of the Society may be entirely disappointed. The remedy, as Mr C. supposes, is to be found in our Soc^{y}. having a corporate character, so that the indentures which the parents may enter into with the Soc^{y}. may have a binding force at law. There are two modes of obtaining charters in Penn^{a}. One under a general law through the medium of the supreme court which is out of question here, because under it only citizens of Penn^{a}. can be incorporated. The other mode is by direct application to the Legislature, a mode which your Com^{e}. in view of failure of somewhat analogous applications do not recommend. Besides no charter granted by our Legislature can have extra-territorial force per se. Of the Michigan Terr^{y}. laws we are ignorant & can say nothing.

The Com^{e}. have at present nothing further to offer than a recommendat^{n}. that the Rev. Mr C. be written to & be requested to take legal advice in the Terr^{y}. as to the best plan of avoid^{g}. the evil complained of."

[Unbound MSS.]

Dec. 29 ——

Dear Sir,— I had the pleasure of receiv^{g}. last even^{g}. your observat^{s}. on a subject laid before you, & am much obliged to you for the ready attention which you have paid to it. May I take the liberty of inquiring, as I myself am very ignorant on these topics, if there would be no inconveniencies resulting from the incorporat^{n}. of the G. B. Miss^{n}. while the Parent Soc^{y}. is unincorporated? Might not the agents of the Soc^{y}. here, if disposed, act more independently of the home authority than would be proper? Could the just power of the Board at Philad^{a}. be exercised in the removal of an unworthy Miss^{y}. as freely as at present?

May I also solicit the expressn. of your opinion on the question — whether the difficulties in the way of giving sufficient power to the Missy. from the circumstance of the non-incorporatn. of the Missy. Soc. may not be obviated by causg. the children to be indented to the Supt. as an *individual* & to his assigns? & whether there is any objectn. to this course which has been pursued in several instances?

And further, Is there not a penalty attached to the act of inducg. indented children to remove from a Missy. School that is incorporated; which advantage would be wanting in any other mode of removing the difficulties complained of?

Respectfy. & truly yrs,

R. F. Cadle.

Addressed: "H. S. Baird, Esq., Present."
Indorsed: "R. F. Cadle, Decr. 29, 1831."
[Unbound MSS.]

SUBSCRIPTION ACKNOWLEDGED.

Received of H. S. Baird five dollars being the sum affixed to his name on a subscription paper for an Organ belonging to the wardens and Vestry of Christ Church G. B. which subscription paper is lost.

J. V. Suydam.

May 24th 1832
[Unbound MSS.]

A NOTE OF REGRETS.

July 4th. 1832.

Genln. — I have just recd. the invitation with which you have honoured me. It would have given me great pleasure to have been able to accept it; but I am prevented by sickness in the Missn. Family, as well as by some other cares. I remain, Respectfy. Yrs.

R. F. Cadle.

Robt. Irwin Jr
S. C. Stambaugh
Jos. Dickinson } Esqs.
Chas R. Brush.
Chas Tuller

[Unbound MSS.]

A DEDUCTION REQUESTED.

GREEN BAY July 10th. 1832.

GENTM. —I respectfy. make known to you my impressions that it is not unreasonable for some deduction to be allowed by you from the amount promised to be paid, in consequence of the failure to complete the attached building of 80 ft by 20 ft before last winter. As an individl. I am not interested in this matter, but as I am actg. for the Genl. Missy. Socy. of the P. E. Church, I may hereafter be censured if I should not urge this subject on your consideration. I am constrained to believe that the Missn. Schl. sustained some injury by reason of the want of accommodations; & certainly the Missn. Family were subjectd. from that cause to no little inconvenience. It was my desire to retire from the service in which I am now engaged before the conclusn. of the contract of June 1831, & I was anxious that a portion of the Buildgs. should be finished before last winter, so that together with the trouble connected with the erection of additional buildings, I might have the gratification of seeing the extension of the Boardg. Schl. before my departure. But for this hope, I should, I think, have hesitated about entering into a buildg. agreement. And this agreement was hastened as much as possible by myself, in order that opportunity might be afforded to one of the contractors to proceed to the Riv. St Clair for lumber, of which a deficiency was apprehended. At the same time I candidly acknowledge that the passage way connectg. the two attached buildgs is better executed & that the cupola is more expensively & beautifully finished than I had expected; & that in general your work has been most satisfactorily performed.

I proceed to state my opinion respecting the amount to be deducted after a consideratn. of all circumstances; viz, in my judgment it ought to be a hundred dollars. If this opinion should not be approved of, I am willg. to submit the question to almost any person immediately & to abide by his decision. Respectfy. submittd.

R. F. CADLE.

Messrs. Geo. M. Williams and John Smith.

[G. L. P., XXIX: 69.]

MORE TIME WANTED.

GREEN BAY Septr 20th 1832.

DEAR SIR, — If by reason of present pecuniary difficulties pressing upon this Mission you should be disposed to indulge me with a longer period for the settlement of the accts. between us, it would be a great obligation; & in such a case I readily engage to delay no longer than is absolutely necessary. It is my purpose to write by the next mail to the Exece. Committee, & to solicit from them immediate informatn. whether I can safely draw for the amt. of yr account; & should you be pleased to wait until an answer can reach me from Philada. you would confer upon me no ordinary favour.

I remain,
With respect &c yrs,
R. F. CADLE.

John Law Esq.
[Unbound MSS.]

A BLACK HAWK WAR WAIF.

GREEN BAY, FEBr. 22d. 1833.

DEAR SIR,— The following is a copy of the letter of Col. Stambaugh to me in relation to the little Sac girl whom he placed in the school under my care.[1] I have understood that it was supposed that both her father & mother were dead. It would be very gratifying to me if she could be permitted to remain at this Mission until Col. S.'s consent to her removal should be given, as he felt so much interest in her as to adopt her, & expressed the hope of seeing her at this school on his return from Arkansas. She will receive here the kindest care; and unless actually demanded by her relatives may perhaps be allowed to remain for a

[1] Col. S. C. Stambaugh, former Indian agent at Green Bay, headed a belated mixed expedition of Menomonees and whites against the Sacs under Black Hawk, in the summer of 1832. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 266 et seq.— ED.

short period at least. I should feel under great obligations to you, if the favour now solicited could be granted,

I remain

Respectfy. & truly Your's,

RICHD F. CADLE.

Col. George Boyd.
U. S. Ind. Agent at
Green Bay.

(*Copy.*)

"GREEN BAY, Sept. 3rd. 1832.

"DEAR SIR,—In accordance with the understanding had "between us in private conversation, I send you the little "Sac girl taken prisoner by the Menominees on our late "expedition, and presented by the chiefs to me. I have "adopted & named her after my wife—Anna Stambaugh.

"I feel an entire assurance, in placing this little orphan "under your care, that I not only secure for her an atten- "tive & able moral & intellectual Preceptor, but also a kind "guardian, who will watch and direct her conduct with "parental solicitude. The circumstances under which she "was taken prisoner give Genl. Scott, now commanding "the U. S. Army on this frontier, the power of demanding "her as a prisoner of War: and should he make such a de- "mand, after being informed of how she is now situated, "(which I cannot believe he will do) you will, of course, "surrender her into the hands of the Indian Agent here, "Col. Boyd, who will, I presume, be authorized to receive "& send her to the Commanding General. *But on no other* "*demand* will you permit her to leave the Mission, until "she is returned to me.

"A letter from the Secretary of War, announcing my ap- "pointment to a post remote from this place, obliges me "to go down the Lakes in the vessel now in port. I may "perhaps be absent eighteen months or two years. I will "pay to the Mission your price, *Thirty Dollars a year*, "while she remains. Col. Boyd has kindly offered to ex- "tend to her all the favour & charity on behalf of the Gov- "ernment, which his duties as the official guardian of the

"Indians of this region will permit. I will advise with & "instruct him respecting her clothing & other matters con- "nected with her establishment at your school: and you "can draw upon him or Col. Robert Irwin, my agents, for "the amount of her tuition & boarding for one year, at the "end of six months.

"I am, dear Sir, in
"great haste, with much
"respect & esteem,
"truly yr friend & obedt. servt.
"(signed) S. C. STAMBAUGH

"*Rev. R. F. Cadle.*
"*Supt. F. & D. Missn. Soc.*"

"P. S. If the terms I propose are satisfactory to you, "please inform me.

"(signed) S. C. S."

[Boyd, IV: 66.]

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF GOVERNMENT AID.

Feb. 26th. 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I have just received your communications, & feel greatly indebted to you. I prepared yesterday a short statemt. of the amt. of aid recd. by this Missn. from the Genl. Govt. which I am this day engaged in copying in order to be submitted to you.[1] I will call and shew it to you to morrow.

Respectfy. & truly Yours,
R. F. CADLE.

Col. Geo. Boyd.
[Boyd, IV: 67.]

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[1] During the fiscal year ending Oct. 13, 1832, the D. & F. M. Society had received for the Green Bay mission, $2,000 from the general government; aid from New York state amounting to $4,399.53, and from other sources $611.14.—ED.

A DEATH IN THE SCHOOL.

March 21st. 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I regret that a death has lately occurred at the Mission. The child that has recently died was the son of Mr. Gardepier of this settlement. I was not apprehensive of danger until about a day before the fatal termination of his sickness. I think it will be necessary to bury him this afternoon: his funeral will take place this day at 3 oclock P. M. The travelling is so bad that I can hardly request your attendance, tho' it would be gratifying.

I am Respectv. & truly yrs,

RICHD. F. CADLE.

Col. Boyd.
[Boyd, IV: 69.]

A TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

March 22d. 1833.

DEAR Sir,—I have so far complied with the request of Mr. Ellis as to prepare a rough draught of a constitn. for a Temperance & Reform Socy. but, previously to sending it to him, I am anxious to submit it to you. Will you do me the favour of reading it & expressing your views respecting it? I should be happy to know what alterations or additions you would approve of. I will not give you the trouble of writing but will call in a short time.

Respectfy. & truly Your's,

RICHD F. CADLE.

Col. Boyd.
[Boyd, IV: 70.]

CAPTIOUS CRITICISM OF CADLE.

April 27th. 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I return the books which you lent to me & am much indebted to you for their use.

I have understood that my presence at the Indian Council held at the Agency in July 1831 & signing my name as a witness have been objected to. Previously to my receiving such information, I had not a thought that I acted im-

properly in so doing. Would you be willing to give me a statement in writing of your understanding of the matter signed; & of Col. Stambaugh's views, if you recollect hearing them expressed, in inviting me to attend? Such a statement, with permission to use it, I should regard as a very great favour.

I am Respectfy. & truly yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Addressed: "Henry S. Baird, Esq., Present."
[Unbound MSS.]

WHAT BAIRD THINKS OF IT.

[Baird's draft of his reply.]

DEAR SIR,—I received your note of the 27th inst. and owe you an apology for having so long delayed an answer to it.

You inform me that "your presence at the indian council held at the Agency house in July 1831 & signing your name as a witness have been objected to"—and ask "if I would be willing to give you a statement in writing of my understanding of the matter signed; & of Col. Stambaugh's views, if I heard them expressed, in inviting you to attend"—With cheerfulness I comply with your request and give you all the information within my knowledge relative to the matter. On the day previous to the council, Col. Stambaugh sent by his interpreter a general invitation to the citizens of the Bay, to attend the council on the following day. Such invitations are at all time customary at Indian councils—On the occasion alluded to, special invitations were sent to several of Col. S's friends—I believe you received one. At the council most of the citizens & several officers of the Army attended; many from motives of curiosity—few or none at all from interest or feelings unfriendly to either of the parties concerned in a long existing controversy—having received an invitation I attended. Upon the opening of the council Col. S. addressed the indians upon matters relative to their treaty with the

government — And after an answer thereto from the menominee chiefs, an instrument was presented to, and signed by, them, which was witnessed by all or most of the citizens present — I heard the paper read, but do not now recollect what were its contents — I believe, however, that it was an assent, on the part of the Menominees to certain modifications & additions made to the treaty between them the Gov. of the U. S. & the N. Y. Indians. This was the view which I entertained at the time & still do of that instrument — If there was any other matter contained therein, I am not aware of it — With regard to Col. S's. views in inviting you to attend the council — I considered it as a mark of respect, in addition to which I would remark that he in his speech to the indians made an allusion to the Green Bay mission of which you were superintendent — & recommended to the Menominee Indians to send their children to it, for instruction and education — I am under the impression, that Col. S. also made a remark, in my presence, either previous to or at the council that he wished you to be present, as he had addressed or wished to address the indians relative to the mission school —

I cannot conceive how any person can think there was any impropriety in your attending the council — It has at all times been customary for all citizens to attend similar conventions. That there was any intention of enlisting the feelings of the spectators in favor of either tribe, I am not aware; I attended under no such impression — And I do not hesitate to assert, that your motive in attending, was of the most disinterested nature. Any person entertaining views unfavorable to you, or objecting to your presence, on that day, must be actuated by unfriendly feelings and entirely ignorant of your character & conduct. — If the practice of every moral & religious duty — and an upright & impartial deportment, should exempt a man from the tongue of calumny & detraction, I believe you should be clear of its effects. It affords me much pleasure in bearing witness to your impartial conduct, since my acquaintance with you — I presume that any thing which

I can say will be of little benefit to *you*. Should you deem however, this statement of any avail you are at perfect liberty to use *it in any way you may deem proper*. In conclusion, Dear Sir, to remark, that I much regret to hear your determination to withdraw from the superintendence of the G. B. mission. That institution which you have so long managed with so much satisfaction to the inhabitants, will severely feel your loss — I sincerely believe that every citizen will deeply regret your departure from amongst us — and all unite in fervent hopes for your temporal welfare & eternal happiness. Believe me, Sir, with much esteem & respect your sincere friend. H. S. B.

[Unbound MSS.]

TO LAWE.

May 20th. 1833.

Dear Sir,— May I take the liberty of writing a few lines to you on the subject respecting which I conversed with you a short time ago; viz, the exertion of your influence to induce the parents of the children now at the Mission to be satisfied with the continuance of their children at this school after my departure from it? Another Superintendt. will no doubt be appointed this summer; & no change has taken place in the management of the school, which is still under the direction of the Genl. Missy. Socy. of the P. E. Church. The Bishop of New York has recommended this Mission recently to the patronage of that Diocese, & my solicitude respectg. its pecuniary difficulties has been latterly much relieved. I withdraw from the superintendance from perfect exhaustion by its many cares & perplexities, & from the expediency of my publicly defending it from the secret accusations of a few unprincipled men. When I shall be separated from it, I can speak & write more plainly & more regardless of consequences which will then affect myself alone. I should be happy to make any arrangement in my power that would meet the views & wishes of the parents that have committed their children to this

school, whom I have sought to satisfy by attention to the health, improvement & comfort of their children durg. the period of my residence at Green Bay. These objects I will provide for before my retirement from the Mission. I feel greatly interested in its prosperity, & should deeply lament if my withdrawal from it proved the slightest occasion of injury to it. On my own account I am anxious that no children should be removed; and if, as opportunity may be given, you would use your influence to prevail upon their parents to allow them to remain, you would confer upon me a great favour.

I remain
Respectfy. & truly your's
RichD F. Cadle.

Hon. John Lawe. Present.
[Unbound MSS.]

REASONS FOR RESIGNING.

May 27th. 1833.

(*Private.*)

Dear Sir,— Unless I should receive this week very unexpected intelligence & such as would absolutely constrain me to continue at the Mission, I propose to retire from it on the 1st of June next, on which day four years of service will have been completed by me.[1] I regret to be under the necessity of leaving this school before the arrival of another superintendent; but I have sought to procure the appointment of one — & it has at length become necessary for me to vindicate the Mission and myself publicly, & in order to do so without restraint I think that I must leave it. Reparation is due to me from New York, & while such is the case I do not feel able to act as Supt. I am also invincibly reluctant to contract any further pecuniary obligations, & greatly desirous of obtaining a station where I shall not be exposed to the unjust attacks to which I have

[1] See *ante*, p. 412, note, showing that he had sent to the D. & F. M. Society a letter of resignation dated June 16, 1832, but had been induced to continue.— Ed.

been subjected. I am under many obligations to you for your kindness to myself, & your interest in the welfare of this school; and now respectfully & earnestly solicit a continuance of your good offices in its behalf. I am deeply grateful for the aid extended to this Mission by the War Dep$^{t.}$ in its time of want & danger. For what you was pleased to write to Mr. Herring [1] with regard to my remaining at the Mission I am thankful; but the ordinary cares & anxieties of overseeing it, in addition to the considerations mentioned above, induce in me a strong desire for a removal from it. At the first opportunity that offers I will shew you the necessity of my appearing before the public & of exhibiting the true character of the Rev. Eleazer Williams, of whose injuries to myself & the Mission I have convincing proof.[2] If redress should be given to me soon: I have written to D^{r} Rudd that I should be content that my letters be not published. And did I not hope to receive reparation from N. Y. I should be compelled to seek it at the hands of a civil tribunal. I shall request the Editor of the Gospel Messenger (D^{r} Rudd) to send a copy of each number containing my letters, in the event of their publication, to the Sec$^{y.}$ of War, to whom on private & public accounts I feel bound to submit my answer to what has been said to the prejudice of this Mission. I hope he will not think I have taken too great a liberty. May I enquire if I can procure at the Agency a copy of Col. Stambaugh's address to the Menominees July 18th 1831? As some prejudice has been excited against me in consequence of my attending at his request at the Agency on that day, and as I subsequently wrote in terms of commendation of particular passages in his address, I should be grateful to obtain a copy in order to the justification of my expressions of praise. Those expressions I should repeat if necessary for undoubtedly the advice he gave to the Indians, to which I referred, was most salutary. Further — This Mission was

[1] E. Herring, commissioner of Indian affairs.— Ed.

[2] See *ante*, p. 424, for Dr. Kemper's opinion of Williams.— Ed.

designed peculiarly for the benefit of the Menominees, and I have exerted myself considerably to prevail on them to send their children to it for instruction. On the eve of leaving it, it would be some satisfaction to me to have their testimony respecting the manner in which I have discharged my duties to them. And now having finished writing what relates to my public affairs, allow me to thank you for your hospitable offer to my sister & myself. If we are not at liberty to avail ourselves of it, we are truly sensible of the kindness which dictated it. I could be no where else more happy: but I may remain at Green Bay for several weeks, & hence I cannot think of troubling you. Possibly I may leave it in a week or two, but probably I shall stay for a longer time, & until I can form some plan for the future. But while I linger here, it will afford me the greatest gratification to visit you as frequently as shall be in my power. I will call on you this week to converse with you on the topics of the former part of this letter.

I am Respectfy. & truly your's,

RICHD F. CADLE.

Col. George Boyd, Agency House.

[Boyd, IV: 72.]

LACK OF INDIAN APPRECIATION.

GREEN BAY June 18th. 1833.

DEAR SIR,— Will you excuse my asking at this time the great favour (for the welfare of this institution is an object deeply interesting to me) of your recommendation, to such an extent as your judgment may approve of & in such a manner as you may deem most expedient, of this school to the Menominees who will be assembled here on the 20th. inst.? Would not his Excy. Gov. Porter be willing to advise them to send their children to it for instruction? When I think of the large donations of the War Dept. to this establishment, I cannot but regret that so few full-blood Menominee children have been committed to it. A good

opportunity will soon be presented for directing the attention of the people of this Tribe to this subject; & my gratitude would be great if, not thinking my request to be unreasonable, you could comply with it.

I remain Respectfy. & truly, Yours,

Richd. F. Cadle.

Col. George Boyd, U. S. I. A. at G. B.

P. S. The Govr. mentioned to me yesterday that he would attend the examination of the Missn. school. I should feel much honoured if you should be able to be present at it — It will commence at 9 o'clock this morning.

Respy. & truly yrs.

R. F. C.

[Boyd, IV: 73.]

AID FROM WAR DEPARTMENT.

(*Private.*)

G. B. July 14th 1833.

Dear Sir,— I write a few lines hastily to you, expectg. to leave to morrow morng. in the Steam Boat. Accept my cordial thinks for all yr kindness. May I particularly request you will visit the Missn. as often as you can in my absence, & may I commend my sister to your care? If from any cause she should find the Missn. House an unpleast. residence, would you do me the great favour to receive her as one of yr family till my return? I write this without consulting her. I am in hopes of returng. in Septr.

In a letter of the Secy. of the Missn. Socy. dated June 12th. last is the followg. sentence — "Mr. N." (Nicklin) "had "several interviews with Secy. Cass & succeeded in procur- "ing $1500. with the promise of more so soon as cer- "tificate of the expense of the Socy. incurred by the erec- "tion of addtl. buildgs. in /31 & /32. shall have been recd. "by the War Dept. from the Ind. Agent at G. B." I have taken the liberty of copying the foregoing as I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you again, & I submit it with the greatest respect. May I not indulge the hope of hearing from you while I am absent? Should you ever write

will you please direct to the care of Rev. Mr. Van Pelt[1] Philada. ? I will transmit to you a copy of the expenses of buildg. from Detroit if possible. I regret that I cannot wait upon Black Hawk.[2] Be pleased to remember me to Mrs & Miss Boyd, to whom I now bid farewell & to all your family. Excuse this letter, & believe me

Very Respectfy. & truly Your's

RICHD. F. CADLE.

Col. George Boyd.

[Boyd, IV: 74.]

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES.

Mission Buildings Erected in 1830.

A mission house of 40 ft by 30 ft. 2 stories high, with an attached building of 30 ft. by 18 ft., 17 1-2 stories high: a school house of 30 ft. by 20 ft. 1 story high. Log stable — drain — 2 out-houses — well & scuttle work.

Particulars.	
Digging cellar and drain	$40.00
Laying foundation of Missn H. & piers of school & wall [& cellar	221.00
Contract for carpenter work of Missn H. & back buildg	2000.00
" " " school	320.00
For 19000 bricks	111.66
Plastering Missn buildg	437.85
Additl stone — countg bricks — laying additl piers — laying hearths — & laying bricks	115.10
preparg stone for chimney of schoolhouse	1.50
Extra work before completion of carpenter contracts viz. 3 inside doors — a stoop of 30 ft. by 5½ ft. partitn around stairs of 2d floor of back buildg a garret stairs — 2 garret windows. 1 additl windw in school h.	66.50
Boardg round piers of school house	3.00

[1] See *ante*, p. 295, note 2.

[2] In April, 1833, Black Hawk and his fellow prisoners were taken from Jefferson Barracks (St. Louis) to Washington, thence to Fortress Monroe, where they were incarcerated until June 4; a tour was then made through the eastern cities, the party returning to Fort Armstrong (Rock Island) Aug. 1.— ED.

Boxes for drain	12.50
Garret floor	13.00
ceiling round the garret	8.00
2 out-houses	18.00
Shelving 5 closets	5.00
Finishing 1 pantry	2.00
Permanent desks and benches for schoolhouse	30.00
Drawing bricks	24.00
Log stable	15.00
Iron $5. $4.93. $1.31. $10.35.	21.59
Making 11 bars	2.00
well	19.50
Scuttle work — applied in 1831	3.50
	$3490.70

Mission Buildings erected in 1831–2.

Barn & Shed — former 40 ft. by 30 ft. latter 30 ft. by 20 ft.	$400.00
Baking & washing House — 30 ft. by 20 ft. — 1 story high — according to contract, includs some appurtenances for baking & washing, $393.50: 2 extra windows $5.00: crane 81 cents,	399.31
Mission House 50 ft. by 30 ft., 2 stories high, with a back building 80 ft. by 2 stories high — piazza & wash-room,	4400.00
Drain	39.07
New well — platform for first well — & 2 out-houses	84.86
School house of 30 ft. by 20 ft.	321.67
	$5644.91
75 rods board fence & 6 gates,	125.50
Fence of Burying ground	36.00
Val. of 136 acres, or about that nº, of lot Nº. 18, quit-claimed by Mr. Porlier	400.00
	$6206.41
Improvements of 1830	3490.70
	$9697.11

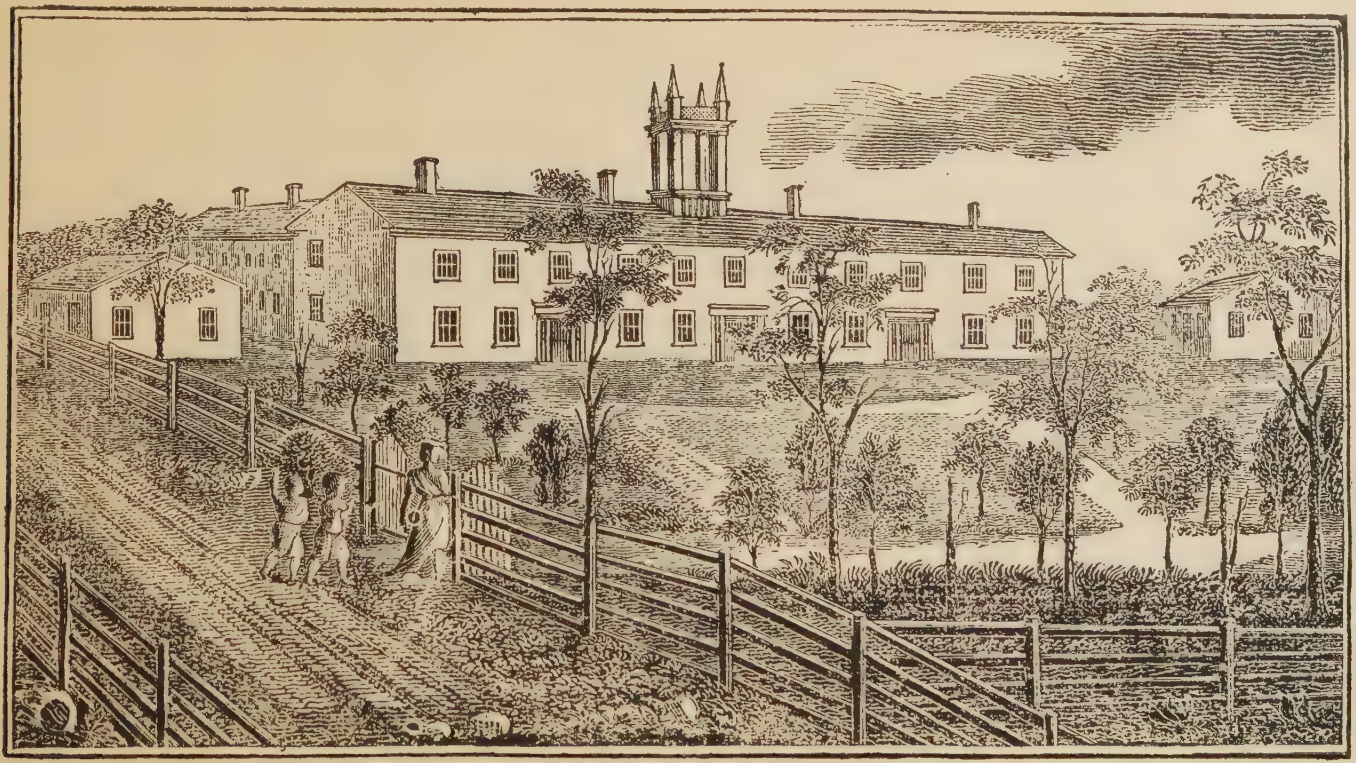
New York Augt 3d 1833.

Dear Sir, — The foregoing is, according to the best of my knowledge an accurate statement of the expenditures of the D. & F. Missy. soc. of the P. E. Ch. at Green Bay in land, buildings & improvements.

Respectfy. submittd.

Richd F. Cadle.

Col. Geo. Boyd, U. S. I. A. at G. B.



PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL MISSION BUILDINGS AT GREEN BAY.

Facsimile from *Proceedings of Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, 1832. The buildings are therein described (p. 25): "A family mansion 90 feet in length, 30 feet in breadth, and two stories in height: an attached building at the northeastern extremity of this house, 30 feet long, 18 feet wide, and one and a half stories high; another attached building at the south eastern extremety, running parallel with the one just mentioned, 80 feet long, 20 feet wide, and one story high; a school-house for boys, 30 feet by 20, and one story high; another for girls, of the same dimensions; a barn 40 feet long, and 30 feet wide, to which is attached a shed of 30 feet by 20 feet; and lastly a house 30 feet in length, 20 feet in breadth, and one story in height, divided into two rooms, to be appropriated for the purposes of washing and baking. The cost of these edifices is $8,940.97."

(*Private.*)

N. Y. Aug. 3d 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I hope that yourself and family have been well since I had the pleasure of seeing you. My mother's family I had the gratification of finding in good health. At last I have prepared a statement of the buildg. expenses at G. B. I had thought of doing it at Detroit, but I could not conveniently make the copy till my arrival in N. Y. I reached this place yesterday morning, & have not as yet made any calls. On the 6th inst I expect to go to Philada. At detroit I saw the Gov. I think it is probable that I shall set out on my return to G. B. in the course of this month. As yet I have formed no plans for my future course, but will doubtless make some arrangements after a conference with the com:—I hope that you will be able to visit my sister sometimes. Be pleased to give my respects to Mrs. Boyd—to Miss Boyd—Mr. William & all your family.

I remain, Respectfy. & truly yrs.

RICHD F. CADLE.

Col. Boyd, G. B.

Addressed: "Col. George Boyd, U. S. Ind. Agent at Green Bay, M. T."

[Unbound MSS.]

[Letter mutilated; probable words or parts of words missing, in brackets.]

PHILADELPHIA AUG. 9th. 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I took the liberty of forwarding to you from N. Y. on the 3d inst. a statement of the expenditures of the D. & F. Missy. Socy. of the P. E. Ch: at Green Bay on account of Buildings and improvements amounting [to] $9697.11. Since my arrival here [I hav]e under[st]ood that the War Dept. will not [take] into [consi]deration the sum pd for the claim [of Mr.] Porlier being $400.00, nor for fences being $161.50. The whole amount therefore paid by the Missy. So[cy. for bu]ildings [is] $9135.61: viz, $3490.70 for the first Mis[sn. bui]ldings—and $5644.91 for the buildings of 1831 & 1[832.] The items of these accounts will

soon be in your hands; & for all of them I obtained receipts from the contractors, which receipts are now in the possession of the Exec: Com. Your certificate with regard to the buildings of 1831 & 1832 is, I believe, especially requested by the Com: and if my assurance as to those expenditures is of any avail I hereby give it. Additional assurance might be procured at G. B. if requisite: for instance the contract for the Mission H. for $4400.00 was made with Mc Williams & Smith, both of whom are at the Bay — for the Barn & Shed for $400.00 with W. Dickinson — for the Baking & washing House for $393.50 with the Messrs Irwins — for 2 extra windows with do — for a crane = 81 cents, I think, with the Messrs Irwins — for schoolhouse for $321.67 with D. Whitney, being part of sum pd him — for chain for $39.07 — viz $10.00 to L. Boudoin Oct. 12, 1831 — to do $6.00 Dec. 3. 1831 — to D. Whitney for plank $8.82 March 21. 1832 — for one load of stone $1.25 and makg. boxes & hauling planks $10.00 to Messrs Irwins Feb. 4. 1832 — and $3.00 to D. Whitney May 17. 1832 for 3 perches of stone — for new well, 2 platforms, & outhouse pd Messrs Irwins Aug. 10. 1832 $73.26 — for another outhouse $11.60 pd to E. Hart Aug. 6. 1831.

For [all of t]hese sums I have long since certif[ied] & indeed [sum torn out] in addition, the val. of 2 caldrons perm[anently] fixed in the Wash House; but which are n[ot in]cluded in the statement given [to] you, [but are re-] ported to the Missy. Socy. under the [head] of mer[chan-] dise. If you should feel at lib[erty] to give [a] certificate respectg. the buildings [as] above described, the interests of the Mission would be promoted, & the Socy. would, I am confident, be under great obligations to you. Mr Nicklin, who has acted for the Socy. at Washington, will sail for England on the 20th of next month; & were it possible for your certificate, should you favour the Com: with one, to reach Washington previously, I believe that there would be no delay on the part of the War Dept. to grant to the Missy. Socy. a considerable allowance on the account of the expenses of buildings. With great thankfulness for

all past kindnesses, and with my respects to Mrs Boyd, to Miss Boyd, & all your family

I remain,

Respectfy. & truly your's,

RICHD F. CADLE.

Col. George Boyd, U. S. I. A. at G. B.
[Boyd, IV: 75.]

A DAY OF THANKSGIVING.

Dec. 18th. 1833.

DEAR SIR,—Having omitted giving notice on Sunday last of the appointment of a day of Thanksgiving, I take the liberty of writing that there will be morng. service to morrow at the Missn. School house — that being the day set apart by the civil authory. of the Terry. as a day of Thanksgivg.

On Monday next, the 23d. inst. there will be an examination of the Mission School commencing at 9 o'clock, A. M: & if yourself & family can conveniently attend, I should feel under great obligations to you.

I am Respectfy. & truly Yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Col. Boyd
[Boyd, IV: 78.]

TO BAIRD.

GREEN BAY Jany. 14th. 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I write this private note to solicit that, in case you should not be pledged otherwise, you would undertake my defence or that of this Mission in the event of a public defence being necessary.[1]

I remain Respectfy. & truly Your's,

RICHD. F. CADLE.

Henry S. Baird Esq. Present.
[Unbound MSS.]

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[1] See *ante*, p. 419, note 3, for statement of the violent attack on Cadle, made by enemies of the mission because of the whipping and hair-cropping by his assistants, the night of Dec. 24, 1833, of eleven of the pupils who had been riotous. This incident gave rise to a long and bitter controversy, which greatly injured the mission.— ED.

Janv. 20. /34.

DEAR SIR,— May I trouble you with the inquiry as to the powers given by the statutes of the Terry. or the Common Law to masters of apprentices & Teachers of children? If in the kind or degree of punishment lately authorized by me I have exceeded just limits, I must be content to bear the reproach; but if I have not, it is right that the reproach should rest elsewhere. I wish to attach yr opinion on this subject to a report to the Socy. which report may possibly be published by them. Excuse me for the trouble which I am asking at your hands.

I am Respy. & truly yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

H. S. Baird Esq.
[Unbound MSS.]

CALLED TO RECTORSHIP OF TRINITY.

Trinity Church.

The services of the Episcopal Church, have been performed in this Village, with slight intermissions, once on each Lord's day, by the Superintendent of the Green Bay Mission School, for nearly a year. About two months since, a Congregation was organized here, under the above name, and Wardens and Vestrymen chosen.

The Executive Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church of the U. S. was applied to in August last, for aid in the ministration of the Gospel, and in reply, passed a resolution constituting Navarino one of their Missionary stations, and appropriating $250 for the support of the Missionary for the first year: in addition to which, a sum amounting to nearly $220 was raised for the support of such Missionary, by private subscriptions in this Village. No Missionary having yet been appointed for this station by the Committee, the following Resolution was passed at a late Meeting of the Wardens and Vestrymen.

"RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church, Navarino, be respectfully

presented to the Rev. Rich'd F. Cadle for his gratuitous services to this congregation for the past season, and that he be invited to take the Rectorship of said Church."

[Green Bay *Intelligencer*, Jan. 22, 1834.]

ASSISTANCE ACKNOWLEDGED.

The undersigned thankfully acknowledges the payment of the following sums, in order to the reduction of the Tax of the Green Bay Mission.

RICH'D F. CADLE,
Superintend't.

GREEN BAY Jan. 27, 1834.

D. Whitney	Six dollars.
L. Groom	Five "
J. M'Carty	Two "
J. W. Conroe	Two "
H. Minuse	Two "
J. Lawe	Three "
H. S. Baird	One "
J. Redline	One "
C. M'Williams	One "
D. Ward	One "
Mr. Eberts	One "
Mr. Caldwell	Twentyfive cents.
Mr. Matthews	Fifty cents.
N. Perry	Fifty cents.

[*Intelligencer*, Feb. 5, 1834.]

BAIRD'S INFLUENCE SOUGHT.

GREEN BAY, Feby. 3d. 1834.

DEAR SIR,— I expect to retire from all care of the Mission on Wednesday next, the 5th inst. at 11 o'clock A. M., and I am desirous of stating to such of my friends as may favour me with their attendance at the Mission at that time the reasons which have led me to such a course. I would be be very happy if it should be in your power & in that of your father to be present. I am greatly indebted to you

for the letter with which you recently favoured me in answer to a note of inquiry on my part. May I solicit another favour? It is that you would act as legal advisor of the Mission during the period of my sister's remaining in that establishment & until the arrival of a Supt. Some efforts will perhaps be made by the evil-disposed to remove children boarding at the Mission. You have influence with the French inhabitants, and when influence will avail it is a better instrument to employ than authority & power. If there should arise cases rendering a resort to legal measures probable, may I request that the indentures be well examined previously? I am aware that I am asking you to undertake an office that may be something troublesome, but I trust that you will not refuse my request. May I be allowed further to say that I have the fullest confidence that the Exec. Com: will render satisfactory compensation for any trouble, to which you may in consequence be subjected?

I remn. Respectfy. & truly yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Addressed: "Henry S. Baird, Esq., Present."
Indorsed: "R. F. Cadle, 3 Feby, 1834."
[Unbound MSS.]

COMPLAINT OF ILLEGAL TREATMENT.

(*Confidential.*)

Feb. 27. 1834.

DEAR SIR, — *I wrote sometime ago to the Governor respecting the illegal treatment received by me & soliciting from him such reparation as was in his power to give to me.*

A copy of this letter I will shew you by the first convenient opportunity.

I think it proper to communicate this fact to you, while I request that it may not be mentioned by you.

I remain Respy. & truly yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Col. Boyd.
[Boyd, IV: 82.]

TO BAIRD.

G. B. March 7th. 1834.

DEAR SIR,— Accompanying this note by the hands of Mr Groom is a report of the Proceedings before Lewis [Louis] Grignon. I should be deeply indebted to you, if after examining. it, you would certify (in such terms as you think proper) that it is a substantially accurate report.

May I consult you on the propriety of obtaining affidavits from the assistts. contradictg. false statemts. in the last number of the Intelligencer? — & also whether, if the statements[1] can be proved to be false, I could not prosecute the writer for slander — &, if I can whether it would be expedt. to do so? I do not wish to trouble you to prepare a written communicatn. on these points; but I should be much obliged to you to consider them; &, should you be in this neighbourhood within a few days, if you would verbally give me your opinion it would be a great favour.

I am Respectfy. & truly yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Addressed: "Henry S. Baird Esq., Present."
[Unbound MSS.]

March 15th. 1834.

DEAR SIR,— It was my intention when I saw you yesterday to publish an extendd. article in the Intelligencer, & hence I took the liberty of troubling you to call on me. I have for a reason, which I will disclose to you, concluded to defer the publication of it at this place at least for the present. I have however prepared a short note for publication. I write these few lines in explanation of my not acting as I gave you reason to expect I would act; & at an early convenient time I will mention the cause which has led me to delay the publication of my reply.

I am Respectfy. & truly yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Addressed: "H. S. Baird Esq., Present."
[Unbound MSS.]

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[1] A communication in the *Intelligencer* for March 5, signed "Orion," and dated "Navarino, Feb. 25, 1834." See *ante*, p. 419, note 3.— ED.

TO BOYD.

G. B. March 15th. 1834.

DEAR SIR,— After the trouble which you took on my account yesterday, I feel bound to mention to you before my departure for the Grand Kakalin the course which I have decided on pursuing. I have restrained my strongest feelings & kept back the extended vindication of the Mission which I had prepared. But something seemed to be required of me at this present time: & I have just sent to Mr. Ellis a brief note for publication.[1] This note is to the follows. effect. I promise in due time to prove the author signed Orion a calumniator; & state that I have asked of the Socy. the benefit of a trial; requests. them to deal with me accords. to the rigour of the ecclesiastical laws to which I am subject if the charges of Orion should be substantially proved to be true, or, if shewn to be false, that they will publish his name as a slanderer. This is the substance of my note for the Intelligencer.

I am Respectfy. and truly Yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Col. Boyd.
[Boyd, IV: 83.]

Monday March 31st. 1834

DEAR SIR,— I received a note from you yesterday on my return from Duck Creek, and will attend to it this day. Excuse me for having neglected the matter to which it refers.

It seems to me desirable that the corporation of Christ Church Menomineeville should not become extinct; and as this is the day appointed by its constitution for the election of officers I have thought it expedient to give notice that there will be a meeting for such purpose at my room

[1] Published in the *Intelligencer* for March 19. See *ante*, p. 420.— ED.

at 10 o'clock P. M. this day. Should it be in your power to be present, I should be greatly gratified.[1]

Respectfy. & truly yrs,

Col. Boyd. R. F. CADLE.

[Boyd, IV: 86.]

CADLE'S SELF-SACRIFICE.

MISS. ROOMS, PHILADA 15th July 1834

Messrs. Boyd Baird & Irwin

GENTLEMEN,— Your communication of the 20th Ultimo. was duly received and laid before the Exec. Com: with all possible despatch

At a meeting of that body held on the 14th Inst. the following minute was unanimously adopted

"Whereas The Revrd. Mr Cadle did by letter, dated January 15th 1833 in consideration of the peculiar embarissments of the Green Bay Mission at that time, relinquish to the Society, for the benefit of that Mission, his salary due from the 1st. of June 1832 to the above date. viz the sum of $250 and also his claim upon the Soc. for $278.36 as a donation. And whereas he also stated to the Exec. Com: at, or about that time, that it was his wish not to receive any thing further for whatever services it might be in his power to render to the mission, & in agreement with which wish he has not drawn for any Salary from the above date of June 1832.— And Whereas the Exec. Com. by a resolution adopted in March 1833 declined the acceptation of the Revrd. Mr Cadle's donation & requested him to draw at that time for the sum of $528.36¼ which he has not done: and whereas there appears to be due the Revrd. Mr. Cadle, for Salary from July 15th. 1833 to June the 1st. 1834 — the time of his resignation the additional sum of $550.

Resolved. That The Revrd. Mr Cadle. in consideration of the facts stated in a communication of June 20th 1834 from Colnn. G. Boyd, Henry S. Baird & Alexr. J. Irvine a committee of Christ Church Green Bay *Ought* to draw upon

[1] A similar note to Baird is in possession of the Society.— ED.

the Treasurer of the Society for at least the whole amount of his Salary viz. for $800., which he is hereby authorised to do. The aforesaid sum of $278.36 being of itself a liberal donation from Mr Cadle to this Mission."

I have this day written to Mr Cadle requesting him to gratify the Exec: Com. by acting without delay in accordance with their opinion & wishes as above expressed.

Very Respecy.

PETER VAN PELT Sec:

Messrs. Boyd, Baird & Irwin Com: of the Wardens & Vestry of Christ Ch. Gr. Bay
[Boyd, IV: 90.]

TO MEET MILNOR AND KEMPER.

July 17th. 1834.

DEAR SIR,—Will you please excuse my sister & myself this day, as we are not at liberty? The Gentm. arrived at the Mission are the Rev. Dr. Milnor & the Rev. Dr. Kemper — who are distinguished, able & excellent men. I hope it will be in your power to call on them. They will stay several days — I will visit Duck Creek.[1]

Yrs Respy. & truly

Col. Boyd R. F. CADLE.
[Boyd, IV: 91.]

AN INVITATION ACCEPTED.

July 24. 1834.

DEAR SIR,—It will give the Rev. Dr. Milnor & the Rev. Dr. Kemper great pleasure to accept the invitation to your house to morrow,—if—in consequence of an engagement previously made to visit the Grand Kakalin on that day — they could take the liberty of asking you to appoint the hour of dinner at 1 o'clock.[2] My sister & myself will be very happy to accompany them.

With great respect & truth, I am Yrs,

Col. Boyd. R. F. CADLE.
[Boyd, IV: 92.]

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[1] The D. & F. M. Society conducted another mission there.—ED.

[2] See *ante*, p. 415.—ED.

GOVERNMENT AID ASSURED.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR
OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS.
July 28. 1834.

SIR,—Your letter of the 30th Ult: has been received. The provision made for the education of the New York Indians, in the treaty with the Chippewas Menomonees and Winnebagoes of 11th of August 1827, appears to be sufficient to render an application of a part of the Civilisation Fund for this object unnecessary.

The 5th Article of that treaty provides, that the sum of Fifteen hundred dollars shall be annually thereafter appropriated as long as Congress thinks proper, for the education of the children of the tribes, parties hereto, and of the New York Indians.

It is true that the 5th Article of the treaty with the Menomonees of 8th Feby. 1834 provides for an addition to this annuity of Five hundred dollars, and for the application of the whole sum to the education of the children of the Menomonee Indians. As the Chippewas, Winnebagoes & New York Indians were not parties to this treaty, no construction can be given to this provision, which shall deprive them of the benefits, conferred by the treaty of Butte des Mortes.

In selecting children therefore, to be educated at Mr. Cadles School, under the letter from this office of inst, and whose education is to be charged upon the annuity of Fifteen hundred dollars for this year, you will be at liberty to take children of either and all the tribes or bands. The object of the Oneida petition will probably be satisfactorily accomplished in this way.

The rule of distribution in ordinary cases would be the ratio of the numbers of those tribes. But you will consider that the Menomonees the last year received the exclusive benefit of this fund.

As the schools are to be supported in the Nation, after the present year, it is desirable that the annuity should be

regarded and used as a common fund. It will thus become a source of common interests and views.

Very Respectfully Your Obt. Servt
W. WARD
For E. HERRING, Com.

Col George Boyd, Green Bay M. Ty.
[Boyd, IV: 93.]

A PAMPHLET ATTACK.

DUCK CREEK Aug. 25th. 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I have just heard from my sister that the pamphlet of Jos. Dickinson has been published. I have not seen it; but may I earnestly ask you to examine it closely, so as to inform me on my arrival at Green Bay whether or not I can prosecute him for slander? Will you oblige me by attending to this request? It is my expectation to be at the Bay this week — &, if I can prosecute him, I should like to do it immediately while the court is in session. You need not write to me, as I trust shortly to see you.

I am Respectfy. & truly yrs,
R. F. CADLE.

H. S. Baird, Esq., Green Bay.
[Unbound MSS.]

AFFAIRS AT DUCK CREEK MISSION.

[Letter mutilated; probable words or parts of words missing, in brackets.]

DUCK CREEK, Sept. 2d 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of sending to you from this seat of science & refinement[1] a late publication respecting China & one or two Museums which I hope will

[1] On finally resigning from the superintendency of the Green Bay mission, Cadle for a time took charge of that to the Oneidas, at Duck Creek. Afterwards he became chaplain at Forts Winnebago and Crawford, and in 1841 the superior at Nashotah House. He died at Seaford, Del., in 1857, aged 60 years. He was of a family of ten children, none of whom married, and all are now dead; his sister Mary, the last of the family, died in New York, in October, 1896, aged 88.— ED.

be interesting. I also forward Mr Ellis' letter respecting Prickett's opposition to the Mission in 1831 for your private perusal. You was correct in speaking of it as occuring at Philada: I had been under the impression from the place the letter was written from that Mr Boyd & Mr Van Pelt had visited the Menominees at Washington. Prickett had had two children, Elizabeth & Talbot, boarding at the Mission from Oct. 25. 1829 to Sept. 25. 1830; and two other children who attended as day-scholars for a short time. No charge was ever made to him. Perhaps it is not correct to say that I dismissed his children; for I wished them to stay if he had been willing to allow the[m to remain] without taking them home so frequently as he did. If he insisted on taking them, I told him I could not continue the charge of them. My reason was, tho' I did not assign it, that I had no confidence in the good ordering of Prickett's house, & that the evil there learned by his children would neutralise the good they might acquire at school. He was violent & abusive; and like various other foolish persons seemed to think he was doing me a great favour in sending his children to the Mission. I refer to this matter only to give you correct information respecting it, & not with any wish to injure Mr Prickett — whom I have long since forgiven & who is not worthy of being my adversary.

I find that nine Oneidas have died in one week beginning Aug. 25th. last.

1. Isaac Case, Aug. 25 — taken sick near the Brick yard opposite Mr Arndt's — & died on the road 3 miles from the ferry.
2. George Doxtater, Aug. 26 — died on the road near Beaverdam.
3. Thomas Reed, Aug. 27 — died near the Brick yard.
4. William Hotchkiss, Aug. 27 — died soon after returng. from G. Bay.
5. John Powlis, Aug. 27 — died soon after returng. from G. Bay
6. Mrs Margaret Smith, Aug. 27.
7. Anthony Swamp, Aug. 29. died soon after returng. from G. Bay.
8. Aug 31. Mrs Susan Order.
9. Sept. 1. Mrs Sally Powlis.

All the men were intemperate; one of the females was so to the last; another had been so till within a month;

the last mentioned [two or three words torn off] character, Doxtater was taken sick on the road & left alone — his wife & child hurried to him as soon as they were informed of his state — & remain$^{d.}$ with him without other aid while he was in a dying condition. He expired the next morning. M^{rs} Smith was attacked at day light & died at two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. I have visit$^{d.}$ some of the sick & requested the Oneidas to inform me if any are attacked that I may go to see them as their minister. Dr. Worrell[1] was here yesterday, & will come out again today; but so far as my knowledge goes there are not many cases at present. In addit$^{n.}$ to intemperance imprudence in diet seems to be a cause of this distress$^{g.}$ mortality. On Sunday last I had the advantage of having a good interpreter & one of good character — and I preached on the subject of drunkenness — & urged the Oneidas never to go to Green Bay but when business required their presence there & to leave it as soon as possible — to join the Temperance Society & to keep their promises — that it was vain for them to say they were tempted to drink — that they must as christians resist temptation & that they ought to keep out of the way of temptation. In the even$^{g.}$ of Sunday I married a couple — about 50 Oneidas surround$^{g.}$ the door yard.

I renewed yesterday my attention to the school, but I have no hopes that I can do much good — I consider chiefly in opening it the fulfilment of a promise.

With my respects to M^{rs} & Miss Boyd,

I am Resp$^{y.}$ & truly yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Col. Geo. Boyd.

[Boyd, IV: 95.]

CADLE TO ELLIS.

GREEN BAY Oct. 22$^{d.}$ 1834.

DEAR SIR, — I reply to your favor of the 13th inst — & will leave this note in the expectation that you will visit

[1] See *ante*, p. 441, note 3. — ED.

this place before a long time. I am deeply obliged to you — to Mrs Whitney for her kind offers — & to Mrs Doty; but I trust that you will consider, if I should be unable to comply with your request, that the reason will be the peculiarity of my position before the public. I could have lived very happily at Navarino if no difficulties had occurred to me. The Oneida chiefs did not meet on the day they had informed me they would meet: they met on the 16th inst. & after wards called on me, requested me to remain at Duck Creek, & stated that they could give me $300. a year. As yet I have not returned an answer to this proposition, & with regard to it have asked the favour of a few days for deliberation. I will write to you again as soon as I can decide. I do not certainly know where I shall labour during the winter. Be pleased to mention my obligations to Mrs Whitney, for whose kind invitation I shall ever be thankful.

I am Respectfy. & truly yrs.
R. F. CADLE.

A. G. Ellis, Esq., Navarino.
[MS. loaned by E. H. Ellis.]

CADLE VS. LOUIS GRIGNON.

GREEN BAY Nov. 15, 1834.

DEAR SIR,— It is my wish to put into the hands of the Standing Committee of the Episcopal Church in Michigan a copy of my letter to Gov. Porter of last winter in reference to Lewis Grignon & such proof as will sustain my statement. I have not the slightest inclination to attempt interfering with Mr Grignon's appointment, & desire only the possession by my superiors of evidence in support of my letter. Should you be disposed to give me however briefly a reply to a few inquiries, I would feel under great obligations to you, & would limit myself in the use of your answer as you might see proper to direct.

The following are the questions which I respectfully submit to you —

1. Was not the warrant against myself & the assist^ts. of the Mission informal?

2. Was the name of any adult prosecutor endorsed on it until you required it to be done?

3. Did L. Grignon allow the defendants to shew on cross examination the fault of the complainants?

4. Did he allow the defendants to shew the fault of the complaint^s. by the witnesses of the complainants?

5. Was not his reason for this last refusal — that no one was bound to criminate himself?

6. Did he not keep the minutes of the evidence in one of the cases in the French language?

7. Did he not express an opinion before the service of the warrant unfavourable to some of the defendants?

8. During the examination did he shew an eagerness to effect the object of the prosecutor?

I do not solicit you to take the trouble of preparing a long communication in reply; & I regret to be under the necessity of asking my friends (& one of these I am grateful that you are) to take any further trouble in my case. And I repeat that I am now seeking only such testimony as will make good my statement of last winter. If you would give me the benefit of your's, I will shew to you my communication in full before I transmit it to Detroit.

I remain Resp^y. & truly yrs,

R. F. CADLE.

Addressed: "Henry S. Baird, Esq., Present."
[Unbound MSS.]

TO BOYD.

DUCK CREEK, Dec. 8th. 1834.

DEAR SIR,— I was spoken to some weeks ago by Judge Arndt in relation to the case of two orphan children now experiencing his protection & which he is desirous of placing at the Mission. They are quarter-Chippewas; and, as

I presume, Mr. Brown[1] is unable from his instructions to admit them at present among the number supported by the Society, it has occurred to me that possibly they might be sent to our school at Green Bay in the list of Government-pupils. If this disposal of them could be made, it would be very gratifying to my feelings; though I have never seen the children referred to, for whom I am interested solely in consequence of their state of bereavement.

I am Respectfy. & truly Your's,

RICHD F. CADLE.

Col. George Boyd, U. S. Ind. Agent at Green Bay.

[Boyd, IV: 99.]

DUCK CREEK Feb. 28th 1835.

DEAR SIR.— I again trouble you with a note & package; but I thought that Mr Ward's kind letter to me required a prompt reply, & I have therefore attempted one today — which I submit to you. If you think there is any part of it that is objectionable, I hope you will retain the letter till I go in to Green Bay, & I will write a new one. If you approve of it, would it be too much trouble for you to seal it & have it put into the Post office? I really am very sorry thus to heap communication upon communication; but what is necessary to be done I like to do at once, & I would wish not to write to Washington without your acquaintance with all that I write.

I am Respy. & truly Yrs.

R. F. CADLE.

Col. Geo. Boyd, Agency House.

[Boyd, IV: 103.]

NAVARINO. Oct. 14th. 1835.

DEAR SIR.— Since I last saw you I have been constantly weighing in my mind the question whether on my own account

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[1] Rev. Daniel E. Brown, who succeeded Cadle as superintendent of the Green Bay mission.— ED.

& that of the congregation of Christ Church it would be advisable for me to stay here or go below. As it regards myself the conclusion to which I have come is, that it would be best for me to remove from Navarino. I must therefore throw myself on the generosity of those members of the Vestry who had expressed themselves as ready to invite me to remain & to whom I had signified my willingness to do so,— and solicit from them a release from my informal engagement. I hope that you will not think me very capricious.

I believe that no additional member of the Vestry has returned to Green Bay since last week, & I presume that there could be no meeting of that body to morrow; but I am not authorized to say to you that that proposed meeting is adjourned.

With great respect & truth I am yrs,

RICHD. F. CADLE.

Col. George Boyd, Agency House.

[Boyd, IV: 115.]

BROWN TO GRIGNON.

MISSION BUILDINGS GREEN BAY

Jany 6th 1836

SIR.— The Boy you mention left here on the second day of the vacation with his mother who came for him & he has not yet returned, you probably are aware that during the vacation all the children are permitted to visit their parents it was under this regulation that Mr Suydam let him go on the solicitation of his mother he has been much affected with his eyes and our Physician has said it was a scroffulous affection we have exhausted all our knowledge in trying to relieve him but in vain

his time will expire on the 8th of March next but could you do any thing to restore his sight I should feel it a duty to let you take him now for with his eyes in their condition he would not be able to attend school — he is naturally a bright boy & could he have his sight & an opportunity

he would I think make good improvement but unless his eyes are soon relieved I fear he will become blind

hoping you will be able to
administer to his relief I
remain Sir Your very
obedient humble servant
DANIEL E BROWN Superintendent[1]

Louis Grignon Esqr
[G. L. P., XXXVII: 3.]

BROWN TO BOYD.

MISSION BUILDINGS G B
June 17th 1837

Coll. Geo Boyd

DEAR SIR,—It is with much gratification that I learn your reappointment to your old Station & tender you my hearty congratulation upon the event

Our Semi Annual Examination will take place on Tuesday of next week at 10 oclock A. M. will you be kind

[1] The mission family at this time consisted, according to the annual report for 1836, of the domestic committee of the D. & F. M. Society, of Rev. Daniel E. Brown, superintendent; J. G. Knapp, S. B. Sherwood, Mrs. Brown, Miss Sarah Crawford, and Miss Susan Crawford, assistants. April 4, 1836, there were "61 scholars in the mission school — 34 boys and 27 girls. Of these, 34 are Menomonees, 7 Chippewas, 3 Osages, 2 Delawares, 10 Oneidas, 1 Knisteneux, 1 Stockbridge, 1 Brothertown, and 2 whites. Thirty-one children of the number, received into the School by the Rev. Mr. Cadle, remain. In less than two years, all the boys, and a great proportion of the girls, will have left the Mission, by the expiration of their time." Seven of these scholars are supported by individuals; five, at the rate of fifteen dollars per annum, and two pay thirty dollars per annum. During the past year two boys have absconded from the School, and twelve other children have left the mission, by the expiration of their indentures. One of these, a Menomonee girl, fourteen years old, in the opinion of Mr. Brown, had experienced the renewing influence of the grace of God. She had been baptized by him, and admitted to the Communion. Mr. Brown observes: "If she could have remained with us two years longer, with her knowledge of the Menomonee language, she would have made an invaluable teach among them."—ED.

enough to attend as the Govt. Agent if compatible with your other duties.

Respectfully & affectionately
Your Obt Servant
DANIEL E BROWN Superintendent

[Unbound MSS.]

CADLE TO BOYD.

NEW YORK, Augt. 25th. 1837.

DEAR SIR, — Though I am about writing a few lines to you, yet I must promise in candour that I have nothing interesting to communicate. The newspapers give gloomy representations of the state of the country; but in this city there is at least an appearance of life & business. This business, I suppose, must be confined to cash & retail. Specie is a trafficking article instead of being a circulating medium. Bank notes are called rags, but they seem to be available for all the purposes for which money is used except at the Post office counter. The labouring classes I believe suffer much & will probably suffer more for a year to come. I fear that a great cause of the asserted general distress is — the wild spirit of speculation and extravagance in living which has prevailed for some time past — encouraged by the action of the general administration in removing the public deposits from the late U. S. Bank & in requiring certain specific payments to be made in specie. By the first measure the 80 deposit banks were excited and stimulated to large issues of paper, & by the latter that paper became depreciated. The foreign debt must be paid; & the banks having too much sail when the storm came on, thought it prudent to shut their ballast in till the storm should blow over. I question the honesty of suspending payment, while there is money in the purse; & think that the universality of suspension alone saves those institutions from shame & ruin. Nor can I allow the propriety of such suspensions being sanctioned by law, which is nothing more nor less than an impairing of the obligation of

contracts. In the next congress I hope there will be wisdom & strength enough to put down locofocoism, to keep from new experiments, to revive the U. S. Bank, and to raise our prostrate credit on its legs again.

Since my arrival here in the latter part of June I have spent some days at Hudson & its vicinity, & visited Goshen from which I had been absent seventeen years. I have preached four or five Sundays at Fort Hamilton, Long Island, & am contemplating a visit to Salem, New Jersey, where I was once settled. My mother & sisters are in pretty good health. I have made no application as yet for any particular station, but presume that I shall do so in the course of next month.[1] I hope that you & your family have enjoyed good health. Having been commissioned to get the Plat of Nee-sho-to lithographed & authorized to name the streets, I thought it best to give the names in general of gentlemen at Green Bay to the streets of that town. If you should perceive on that plat the name of "Boyd Street," I trust it will be some inducement to purchase lots on it. And I hope that the other gentlemen named will feel the force of this consideration.[2] As it is four years since my last visit to N. Y. I see changes in persons & things. The city has greatly improved & become enlarged, and all the neighbouring places indicate

[1] Feb. 15, 1836, Cadle had been appointed by the D. & F. M. Society as missionary to Navarino, where the congregation were still worshiping in the public school-house. In the annual report of the domestic committee of the society, submitted to the society at its meeting June 25, 1836, it is stated that there are eleven communicants at Navarino, and that the ladies of the parish had furnished $1,700 towards a church building, the result of a fair held in the preceding September. Cadle does not seem to have long continued at Navarino, his health being still poor.— Ed.

[2] For the history of Nashotah House, see Morehouse's *Some American Churchmen* (Milwaukee, 1892), chap. ix, and *Nashotah Scholiast*, vol. i. The institution was not established until 1841, but this letter shows that the project was in embryo four years previous to that. Cadle was the first superior at Nashotah, having been invited to become such by Bishop Kemper, in a letter dated Feb. 19, 1841; he was soon succeeded in that office by Rev. J. Lloyd Breck.— Ed.

a lately increased growth and late prosperity. May it soon be renewed. Should you see Mr Irwin, will you take the trouble of telling him that, as soon as my course shall be determined on, I mean to write to him (if I do not pass thro' Green Bay) on the subject of his lost horse.

Be pleased to give my respects to Mrs & Miss Boyd & all your family.

I remain Respectfy & truly Your's,
RICHD F. CADLE.

Col. George Boyd. Green Bay
[Boyd, V: 35.]

BROWN TO GRIGNON.

MISSION BUILDINGS GREEN BAY
Sept 4th 1837.

DEAR SIR,—Our Society have resolved to reduce our family & with this in view have directed me to retain but twenty five children in the Mission to which number I am reducing the family as fast as the expiration of the indentures will enable me

Our number is now ten above that number which will preclude my taking any at present — On behalf of the children I am much grieved that I am prevented from taking them & hope you will still persevere in giving them an education

Very respectfully your obt Servant
DANIEL E BROWN

L Grignon Esq
[G. L. P., XL: 40.]

TO BOYD.

MISSION BUILDINGS GREEN BAY
February 26th 1838

MY DEAR SIR,—Your note has just been handed me & in answer I would beg leave to say that Mary Fletcher was bound to us by indentures executed by her Father and

afterwards at the time of his death (which took place here) his last dying words to us were to keep & take care of his child

The Indentures are not yet expired & of course untill they are so we wish her to remain with us — the person applying has no claim to mary but in my opinion is set on by others as Mary has lately become attached to our Church

* * * * * * * *

But to consign her to the hands of this man or even those who are putting these measures in operation would be to send her directly to the haunts of vice & depravity a measure I am confident, my Friend, the Indian Agent, will never countenance —

I will endeavour to see you in a short time on the subject

I remain Dear Sir your most
obedient humble servant
DANIEL E BROWN
Superintendent G. B. Miss

Coll Geo Boyd Indian Agent

[Boyd, V: 49.]

MRS. BROWN TO GRIGNON.

GREEN BAY Feb 27 — 1838

DEAR SIR, — most of my patrons are becomeing alarmed about the small pox and have taken their children out of school on account of their fears & some of them have advised me to close my school — which I shall do if no serious objections are raised by my patrons. If you have objections to the closing of the school, before the quarter expires you will please state them to me

Respectfully &C. Yours
F. A. BROWN[1]

L. Grignon Esq

N. B. I shall charge each scholar for no more time than he has attended in case I close now. F. A. B.

[G. L. P., XLI: 16.]

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[1] Wife and assistant of the superintendent.— ED.

EDUCATION AMONG ONEIDAS.

ONEIDA WEST April 31 1838

To Colonel Boyd U. S. ag. Indian affairs

DEAR SIR,— We thank you for what you have don for our people — and will give you the infermation you ask about our school affairs without delay.

We have about 40 Children in our part of the Oneida nation capeble to go to school. We have had a school her for about five years, the number of schollars has considerably varied in that time — for the last year the attendance at school has been about 20 thirty and 35 in the winter and from 10 to fifteen and 20 in the summer Our school is now taught by our missionaries wife but we expect she will be relieved in a week or two by a lady from Ohio who is to take our school

Respectfully &c,

his
THOMAS × LOUDWICK
mark

his
JOHN × COOPER
mark

JOHN CORNELIUS

Chiefs of the Orchard party of the Oneida nation

[Boyd, V: 55.]

WASHINGTON, May 18. 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,— The Oneida Treaty was confirmed by Senate on Saturday the 12th inst. precisely as it was negotiated. I have had a long and tedious struggle, but have succeeded beyond my expectations. I shall leave for home on Monday the 21st.

The Indian Department forwarded to you a letter a few days since, making inquiries in regard to the annuities which have not been received by the Oneidas for several years past. I have had the matter investigated by the Department and they have decided that the balance due shall

be paid, and that it shall continue to be paid hereafter, in cash, according to the number which must be certified by you as agent before the apportionment is made. As this is a matter of some importance to them, and as their number at Green Bay will be increased soon by the accession of several families from N. York, and as this apportionment, when once made, will be *final*, I should consider it a great favor, Sir, if you would delay your answer to the communication from the Department till I reach Green Bay, when I will have an interview with you on the subject.

Remember me affectionately to your dear family — May the choicest blessings of Heaven rest upon you all.

Yours most truly And in haste

SOLOMON DAVIS.[1]

To Col. Geo: Boyd
[Unbound MSS.]

A VISIT FROM SECRETARY CARDER.

OFFICE OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS P. E. CH.
115 Franklin St. New York
June 1, 1838.

Col. George Boyd
Indian Agent, Green Bay

SIR,— The Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions of the P. E. Church have instructed me to visit their Indian School at Green Bay the present summer and to take further measures towards bringing it to a close at no distant period. I purpose leaving here about the middle of July and being at Green Bay on the first of August.

As you have an official as well as personal interest in the business which calls me to your town, I hope to have

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[1] Rev. Solomon Davis, of New York, was sent by the D. & F. M. Society to minister to the Oneidas of Duck Creek, in the autumn of 1835; but owing to the lateness of the season was obliged to winter at Mackinac, "where his services were gladly sought by the garrison at that post, and several other persons friendly to our Church."— ED.

the pleasure of seeing you at that time and conferring with you fully on the subject.

I am, Sir,
Very respectfully & truly
Your obedient servant
JAMES D. CARDER
Sec. & Gen. Agt, D. C. B. Missions.

[Boyd, V: 58.]

WISCONSIN UNIVERSITY OF GREEN BAY.

HILL CREEK, August 11th. 1836

DEAR SIR,—I feel much indebted to you for the manner in which you was pleased to constitute me the representative, in your place, of the Bishop of New York as one of the Trustees of the Wisconsin University of Green Bay,[1] I value it chiefly as a proof of your own friendly feelings towards myself. There was much opposition to the admission of proxies, but finally their right to act was allowed. I was surprised that Mr. Brown thought proper to vote against their admission. Perhaps I may leave Green Bay tomorrow afternoon, & should you have any communication to Thos. A. Boyd, Esq. I would be very happy to be the bearer of it. With my respects & remembrances to Mrs Boyd, to Mrs. Hamilton, & all your family,

I remain With respect & truth, your's,
RICHD F. CADLE.

Col. George Boyd.
U. S. I. Agency at Green Bay.

[Boyd, V: 60.]

CARDER TO BOYD.

MISSION HOUSE GREEN BAY
August 14 1838

DEAR SIR,—I have directed John Michael Shatzel to find his father and bring him to you.

If his father gives his full and free consent that I should

[1] See *ante*, p. 412, note.—ED.

take him with me to the East and find a place for him where I could have some oversight over him and he could derive some benefit from the name he bears I will take him along and do for him the best I can provided it meets your entire approbation. John Michael will bring your answer to this note.

I remain Dear Sir
Very respectfully & truly
Your friend & servant
JAMES D. CARDER
Sec. & Gen. Agt D. C. B. M.

Col. George Boyd U. S. Agt Indian Affairs Green Bay.
[Boyd, V: 61.]

DAVIS TO BOYD.

To Col. George Boyd

MY DEAR SIR.— I have only time to inform you by Mr. Bread that I will call on you with my report on Tuesday the 21st inst. Your kindness will excuse my delinquency, I know, as my ill health has prevented an earlier attention to your communication.

Yours Truly
S. DAVIS.

[Unbound MSS.]

NUMBER OF PUPILS REDUCED.

Coll. George Boyd Indian Agent
Agency Green Bay Wisconsin Territory

SIR,— In presenting you with a Report of this Institution for the past year I would beg leave to say, that no alteration has taken place in the buildings, lands, & farming operations; but all remain in every respect as reported last season —

The number of persons connected with the Mission are five (Viz) Daniel E Brown superintendent, Miss Harriette I

Brown Female superintendent; Miss Sarah Crawford Teacher, Miss Susan Crawford sempstress, and Mr Edson Sherwood Farmer — The two first named persons expect to retire on the 1st day of October next, if the approbation of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Mission is obtained by that time

The number of children who are now connected with the Mission are twelve, ten girls & two boys; of these, nine girls & one boy are connected with the Menominee Indians, one girl with the Osages, & the other boy with the Stockbridges

The great reduction in our family was made by the Agent of the Domestic Committee in obedience to a Resolution of that Committee passed I believe the 27th of May last, & is as follows — "Resolved that it is expedient to discontinue "the Indian Mission School at Green Bay at the earliest "period when it can justly be done —

Under the above the Agent directed all the children to be discharged but the above mentioned twelve — government as well as other, Children; the Mission being only nominally in existence at the present time, & which arrangement is expected to continue but for a very limited period —

The Amount of disbursements have been for the past year about $1,700.00

The personal property inventoried last season at $471.00 remained the same untill the 3rd of September last, when was sold at public auction to the Amount of $261.00 — still most of the Farming Utensils & stock was reserved from sale —

The plan of Instruction pursued in the school was, as heretofore reported, the branches of a common English education (Viz) Reading, writing, arithmetic, grammer, geography & history

DANIEL E BROWN
Superintendent

MISSION BUILDINGS GREEN BAY
WISCONSIN TERRITORY Sept 29th 1838
[Unbound MSS.]

CONTRACT TO BUILD HOBART CHURCH.

This Article of Agreement between Edwin Hart of Green Bay in the County of Brown and Territory of Wisconsin of the first part and Solomon Davis of Duck Creek, in County and Territory aforesaid of the second part, Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part for and in consideration of the payments herein specified, agrees to build Hobart Church[1] at Duck Creek aforesaid, in the following style and manner, the whole to be finished and completed by the first day of September next. The foundation Wall of the Building to be of stone laid in Mortar two feet and a half high and eighteen inches thick, with the necessary pillars under the centre of the building to support the same — The frame to be erected thereon to be 34 by 48 feet — The building to be eighteen feet high from floor to ceiling. The whole building to be sheathed with one inch pine boards rough, & covered (except front end) with half inch pine siding, planed & well nailed. The roof to be covered with inch boards & shingles laid on five inches to the weather. The front end of the building to be ceiled with flooring boards 4 or 5 inches wide tongued, grooved and blind nailed, and the joints put together in white lead, with pilasters on each corner of the building according to Mr. Barrow's plan. The windoes three on each side and two in front to be in plain gothic style as represented in plan by Mr. Coon. The interior of the building to be divided according to Barrow's plan, the two front inner doors to be finished with pilasters as well as the two doors leading from vestry room into chancel. The ends of the slips next to the aisles to be pannelled — the doors of the slips to be capped and pannelled — the back and front of each slip to be capped with suitable book-board and kneeling bench to each. The vestry rooms on each side of the Chancel 8 feet square, to be well finished lathed & plastered, the floor to be elevated

[1] Named for Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, bishop of New York, who had died in 1830. He was an earnest advocate of church missions.— Ed.

level with the chancel floor, with door leading from each to a room into the chancel as represented in Barrow's plan. There is to be one door in the rear end of the building, leading into vestry room, & one window containing 12 lights 8 x 10 glass, in each of said rooms. The floor of the chancel is to be elevated to a suitable distance from the floor of the building. The pulpit reading desk altar and winding stairs leading into pulp't, to be neatly executed — the pulpit to be octagonal in form, and the desk pannelled. The chancel to be enclosed with a heavy moulded rail, supported with heavy turned bannisters, moulded, with a kneeling board around the outside of the base of the bannisters. The whole to be painted in imitation of Mahogany, & neatly executed. The whole interior of building to be furrowed for lathing, and to be plastered with two coats of mortar — hard finished. The ceiling to have an arch formed each side, starting at a suitable distance from the floor, and touching the level ceiling about one third of the distance from the side walls on either side, the level ceiling to recede so as to form a pannel. The beams extending across the building are to be raised crowning by means of king posts with principal rafters framed into them. The tower is to correspond in every respect with the one represented in Coon's plan, with green blinds on the four sides of the bell story. The bell is to be hung provided it is furnished by the first day of September next. The front door steps are to be of plank well put together and answering to representation in Barrow's plan, the same kind of door steps to be constructed for small door in rear of building. Two brick chimneys of suitable size are to be built from each vestry room to top of the rear end of the building. The building is to be painted with two coats of paint both on the inside & out Should there be any thing necessary to be done to the entire finish & completion of the said church according to the above mentioned plans which is not specified in this article of agreement, the said party of the first part hereby binds himself to do the same and to do the whole work in a good substantial and workman-

like manner & have the whole completed by the time before specified—

The said party of the second part agrees to furnish all the materials necessary to the completion of the said Church and to pay to the said party of the first part the sum of thirteen hundred and ten dollars. The payment to be made as follows viz: The sum of one thousand and twenty dollars for framing the building, and doing the carpenters and joiners work, the further sum of one hundred and seventy five dollars for doing the plastering and mason's work; and the further sum of one hundred and fifteen dollars for doing the painting glazing &c. It is understood and agreed that Messrs Schooley & Allen are to do the masonry and painting. Two hundred and fifty dollars of the above sum is agreed to be paid to the said party of the first part, when the building is framed and raised; and the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars is agreed to be paid in like manner when the building is enclosed; and the remainder is to be paid when the building is finished in the manner specified in this article of agreement

The said party of the first part further agrees to furnish and deliver the lime (to be of the best quality) necessary to be used in building said church for the further sum of Two dollars per barrel — and also to furnish and deliver the stone for the said building, if requested to do so by the said party of the second part, at the price of six dollars per cord — said stone to be measured in the wall after being laid. In case of failure on the part of the said party of the first part to fulfill any of the stipulations contained in this Article of agreement he agrees to forfeit and pay unto the said party, of the second part the sum of five hundred dollars — And the said party of the second part binds himself to fulfill or forfeit the same amount. Signed sealed and delivered this fifteenth day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty nine at Duck Creek aforesaid

In presence of
L. W. Davis

Edwin Hart
Solomon Davis

$1310.00

DUCK CREEK W. T. August 15, 1839

I hereby acknowledge to have received from Solomon Davis the sum of thirteen hundred and ten dollars it being my payment in full on the foregoing contract

EDWIN HART

I do certify that the foregoing is a true copy from the Original as Witness my hand at Green Bay this 22nd day November A. D. 1839 JOHN LAST

[Unbound MSS.]

BILL FOR CONSTRUCTING HOBART CHURCH.

Rev. Solomon Davis

To Edwin Hart Dr

For Labor performed and expenses incurred in building Hobart Church at Duck Creek not specified in Contract viz.

1839			
May	9	To Measuring Lumber 10/	$1.25
"	"	" Sticking up do 16/	2.00
"	10	" Drawg. Lumber $11	11.00
		" Sticking up do 16/	2.00
		" Drawg sand & water for wale	3.00
	27	Haulg Nails 8/ Sticking Lumber 8/	2.00
June	10	Drawg a Load from Green Bay 24/	3.00
		Boarding Indians 2 days 4/	1.00
		Drawg wood for kiln 8/	1.00
		Building & tending board kiln	25.00
July	3	Hauling sand & water for plastering	10.50
		Hauling 3 Loads of Brick 32/	12.00
		Do 6 Bas. Hair	1.00
		11 days Carps. Work in completing Parsonage 16/	22.00
		Cash pd. Indians Hewing timber for frame of Church	11.00
		Cash to two Indians for Haulg Timber	10.00
		Provisions furnished do	3.12
		Cash for Labour & boarding Labourer in digging for foundation of Church	3.00
		Cash pd two hands cuttg. wood for Board kiln	3.00
		Cash for team to Green Bay including ferriage	4.00
	29	Cash for do	4.00
	30	Cash for do	4.00
Aug.	13	Cash for do	4.00
"	"	Cash for team ½ day to haul Boards	2.00
			$144.87

Duck Creek August thirteenth 1839

$144.87

I hereby acknowledge to have received from Solomon Davis the sum of One hundred and forty four dollars and eighty seven cents, in full for the above bill. And I do hereby certify that the labor was performed and the expenses incurred by me as here specified in building Hobart Church, for the benefit of the first Christian Party of Oneida Indians —

Edwin Hart.

I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true Copy from the Original as Witness my hand at Green Bay this 22nd day of November A. D. 1839.

John Last.

[Unbound MSS.]

ELLIS'S ACCOUNT.

Rector Wardens & Vestrymen of Christ Church, Green Bay.
To A. G. Ellis Dr.

The following payments for & on account of said church, to-wit

1836		
Sept.	Paid John V. Suydam for moving organ from Mission house to Navarino schoolhouse, place of public worship	10.00
	Interest on same 4 years	2.80
	Paid W. W. Matthews for putting up petition in front of Organ in said house	12.00
	interest on same 4 years	3.36
1837		
March	Sett of wooden pipes in place of leaden ones which had become useless & repairing bellows	12.00
	interest on same 3 years 4 mos.	2.80
Sept.	Paid John V. Suydam for his interest in organ as per Christ Church	30.00
	interest on same 3 years	6.30
	Paid John V Suydam for fixtures, benches, window tables &c in school house place of worship	37.00
	interest 3 years	7.77

Apl 10 & 11	Paid Revd Richard F. Cadle part of his salary as rector	170	
	Rec.d on subscription list towards same	118.50	
	This balance advanced by me		51.50
	interest 3 years 5 mo		11.91
1840			
Sept.	Paid O. J. Soper balance of bill for lumber & turning		9.30
	6 yards marine cloth for curtain for organ 4/		3.00
	Paid Revd. Benj. Eaton on account of his boarding		50.00
			$249.74

Indorsed: "Copy of A. G. Ellis acct. vs. church"
[Unbound MSS.]

LIST OF MISSION CHILDREN.

Mission House Oct. 2. 1840.

Col. Boyd Dear Sir,—I send to you again a list of the names of the children belonging to this Mission, & again ask of you the favour to attend to their annuities. We have since the last year taken two boys belonging to the family of Makahtakwaquot, who were formerly bound to the Mission but had absconded. Their father brought them back last spring & I received them again.

With great respect I remain dear
Sir Yours truly Sarah Crawford.

Col. Boyd

List of names of Mission Children

Mowarkeaku Wa pa she won Pia wa she	Parents Name Makatawakwot
Sar kar sa war Ke war te no ku Muche ke quar wish	Ma ta wue
Mak co mi wash Wah pung Wah Misk Mah a ta co ne war	Mak a ta wa kwot
Se wa quo chin	Moketchewon

Indorsed: "Letter from Miss Crawford."
[Boyd, VI: 77.]

GOVERNMENT AID RECEIVED.

Duck Creek, W. T. May 8, 1841.

Rev & Dear Sir,—I received from Col. Boyd, on the 4th. inst. the sum of $1500. to be expended in the tuition, board & clothing of 10 destitute orphan children now at Green Bay Mission. An allowance of $500 a year for three years. I have executed to him my bond in the sum of $3000. that this amount shall be faithfully applied by me under the direction of the Dom. Com. of the Board of Missions to the object specified. No part of the above sum will, therefore, be expended until I receive from you directions for disbursing the same. Col. Boyd is certainly entitled to our thanks for this preference and for his uniform kindness to us in our Missionary enterprise among the Indians. He has further intimated to me that the next sum of $1500, which is soon to come into his hands, shall be appropriated in the same way to our School among the Oneidas. And you may rest assured this will be done, unless the Department at Washington sees fit to direct to the contrary. Inclosed is an extract from Col. Boyd's letter to the Sec'ty of War on this subject.

I remain, Rev. & Dr. Sir,
Your friend & obt. Servt.
Solomon Davis.

Rev. J. Dixon Carder Sec'ty of Dom. Com.
of Board of Missions. New York.

[G. L. P., XLVI: 25.]

THANKS TO BOYD.

Church Missions, Domestic Office,
281 Broadway, New York,
June 1, 1841.

Col. George Boyd,
United States Indian Agent,
Green Bay Agency. W. T.

Dear Sir,—The Rev. Solomon Davis, superintendent of the Green Bay School, has transmitted to this office information of your having paid to him, on the fourth of May

last, fifteen hundred dollars; to be expended in the tuition, board and clothing of ten destitute orphan Children, now at the Green Bay Mission, for three years from 1840 to 1842 inclusive; he having given bonds in twice the amount for the faithful disbursement of the same under the direction of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Rev. Mr. Davis has also informed the Committee of your intention to appropriate the same amount (now coming into your hands) for the benefit of the Duck Creek establishment, if not otherwise directed by the Indian Department.

This information was submitted to the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions at their meeting last evening. And it affords me very great pleasure to communicate to you the following resolutions, then adopted.

"Resolved That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Col. Boyd, United States Indian Agent at Green Bay, for the very just consideration with which he has been pleased to regard the Green Bay Mission School in the recent application of funds to it for education purposes."

"Resolved That Col. Boyd, United States Indian Agent at Green Bay, be very respectfully solicited to carry into effect his just and liberal intention of applying the next appropriation under the treaty of Butte des Mortes, to the Missionary establishment among the Oneidas at Duck Creek, W. T.; and that he be assured that in the opinion of this Committee, said establishment is well deserving of aid, on account of the great benefits which it is conferring upon the Oneidas."

With high considerations of personal regard,
I am, dear sir, very respectfully & truly,
J. DIXON CARDER,
Sec. & Gen. Agt. D. C. B. M.

Col. George Boyd,
United States Ind. Agency,
Green Bay, W. T.

[Unbound MSS.]

DAVIS REVIEWS THE MISSION'S RECORD.

DUCK CREEK W. T. Sept. 16. 1841.

DEAR SIR,— In answer to your communication of the 9th ult. asking for information in regard to the schools under my charge I have the honor to report: That our establishment at Green Bay, which is a boarding school, and confined in its operations to the Menomonees, numbers at present Ten children who are being instructed under the patronage of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church and receiving their entire support. One male and two female assistants are employed at this station. The Mission farm is productive and contributes largely to the comfort of the family. This Mission has, in former years, been one of deep interest to the Church. It was planted at a time when the Indians for whose benefit it was especially intended were living near and hovering around it; and hundreds of their children have, in years gone by, participated to a greater or less degree in its advantages. It is evident, however, that the amount of good here accomplished has not been in proportion to the means employed. By Treaty stipulations the Tribe are now removed at a distance of more than sixty miles, and can, of course, derive no benefit from the practical working of the Establishment — besides it is evident to all who are experienced in Indian Missions, that a boarding school, however well conducted, is far from being the best method of operating beneficially in changing the habits and improving the condition of the untutored savage. Of this the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions have become fully convinced; under which conviction this Mission has been reduced to its present condition with a view to its discontinuance, as soon as existing obligations will allow this desirable measure to be carried into effect.

Indolence is the prominent obstacle in the way of the advancement of these pupils in the arts of civilized life. Until this obstacle is surmounted; until habits of industry are, in fact, rivited upon them, no permanent change in their

condition can be secured. Their children may be taken and educated away from the Tribe; a partial benefit to themselves may be the result; but, in nine cases out of ten, a return to their home brings with it a return to that same indolence of mind and body which is characteristic of the Indian, and which totally unfits them for usefulness, if it does not sink them in degradation below the less enlightened of their Tribe. I speak from actual experience. In every instance where this experiment has been tried by the religious body to which I belong it has proved an entire failure. I would as soon think of working a permanent change upon the character and habits of all the wild beasts of the wood, through the instrumentality of some one, or half dozen, of each class or kind, who had been caught and confined for a season, and then let loose and suffered to go unrestrained among their fellows. It is as reasonable, all circumstances considered, to expect lasting good to result from the one as the other of these causes.

We need no costly establishments to prosecute this truly benevolent, and to the wasting aboriginees, all important work. The more simple the plan of operating, the better; and the greater will be the prospect of ultimate success. Instead of taking the Indian away from his Tribe and providing for his maintainance and support, it is vastly more advantageous to go where he is, take him by the hand, and lead him gradually on in a practical knowledge of the science of taking care of himself, by making his own exertions contribute to the comfort of his own fireside, and the maintainance of himself and family. This is the only way he can be made to eat the fruit of his industry. Give to a Tribe its minister; its school master, and its farmer; let them be men of entire devotion to their calling, and who will seek in every possible way, by example as well as precept, to inculcate upon the whole mass of idleness and sloth, habits of industry as well as the principles of morality and religon. With the evident advantage to themselves of an effort of this kind they cannot fail of being convinced; they are almost imperceptibly wrought upon;

a career of improvement is commenced, which, with those who care for them continually in their midst to sustain and cheer them on, will lead, by the blessing of God, to the most happy results.

The course here alluded to has been pursued among the Oneida Tribe with whom I am more immediately connected, with visible good effects. Their Indian customs and peculiarities after a lapse of Twenty years (during which period the present Missionary has been among them) have finally been made to disappear, and their advancement in civilization is beyond any other Tribe within my knowledge. They are become an agricultural people; most of them having farms under good cultivation, an abundance of stock of all kinds, with comfortable dwellings and outbuildings, some of the latter having an appearance of neatness and elegance not surpassed in many of our country villages. They have, also, a church edifice, in good taste, and possessing all the requisites for a worshipping assembly. Divine service is well attended and everything pertaining thereto done "decently & in order." Nearly One hundred, out of a population of Five Hundred souls are professed followers of the Lord Jesus Christ and in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church. At the present time we have but one school averaging about 30 scholars, who are receiving an education in the most necessary branches under the instruction of one female Teacher.

I remain, very respectfully,
Your mo: obt. Serv't,
SOLOMON DAVIS.

To Col. George Boyd, U. S. I. Agent for Menomonee & N. York, Indians.
[Boyd, VII: 21.]

THE FIRST WISCONSIN CAVALRY AT THE CAPTURE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

BY HENRY HARNDEN.[1]

After the defeat of Hood's army at Nashville, Tenn., by General Thomas, on December 15–16, 1864, the Union cavalry under Gen. James H. Wilson pursued the retreating Confederates until the remnants of their army escaped across the Tennessee River into Mississippi. Then General

[1] Henry Harnden was born in Wilmington, Mass., March 4, 1823, of parents descended from the earliest Puritan colonists of that State. He came to Wisconsin in 1852, settling at Sullivan, Jefferson county, where he became a farmer and operated a steam saw-mill. He held several town offices, such as treasurer and justice of the peace, and was locally prominent as an Abolitionist. Upon the outbreak of the War of Secession, he enlisted as a private in the First Wisconsin Cavalry, but soon became a sergeant; then (Jan. 4, 1862) a captain; next, major of the second battalion (May 24, 1864), and a lieutenant-colonel (Jan. 6, 1865); he was, later, promoted to a colonelcy, and brevetted brigadier general. At the close of the war, he was in command of the second brigade, first division (cavalry), of the military division of the Mississippi. General Harnden was a member of the State assembly in 1866, from Jefferson county; later (1866–67), he was financial agent of the State Soldiers' Orphans' Home, at Madison; then (1867–73), United States assessor, and later, for several years, United States collector of internal revenue. He resides in Madison.

Other authorities on the capture of Jefferson Davis, are: Official reports by Colonels Harnden and La Grange, *Wis. Adj. Gen.'s Report*, 1865, pp. 594–597; correspondence and reports of all Union officers concerned, in *Official Records, War of Rebellion*, series i, vols. xlvii, xlix; both Mr. and Mrs. Davis's accounts, in the latter's *Jefferson Davis: a Memoir* (N. Y., 1890), ii, chap. lxiv; articles by Gen. J. H. Wilson, commander of the Union cavalry, and William P. Stedman, of the Fourth Michigan Cavalry, in *Century Mag.*, xvii, pp. 586–596; and an article by Col. Burton N. Harrison, C. S. A., one of Davis's party, in *Id.*, v, pp. 130–145.— Ed.

Wilson encamped his cavalry at Gravelly Springs and Waterloo, along the line of the Tennessee River, preparatory to the commencement of his great raid through Alabama and Georgia, which resulted in the rout of the Confederate General Forrest and the scattering and capture of the greater part of his army; it also resulted in the capture of Selma and Montgomery, Ala., and Columbus and West Point, Ga., culminating with the capture of Macon, Ga. The First Wisconsin Cavalry were of these forces, and bore a conspicuous part in all that was accomplished, during this, the greatest and most successful cavalry raid of the war. The regiment was in the Second brigade, First division cavalry corps, of the military division of the Mississippi, Army of the Cumberland.[1] The division was commanded by Maj.-Gen. Alexander McD. McCook, the corps by Major-General Wilson, the brigade by Col. O. H. La Grange, and the regiment by Lieut.-Col. Henry Harnden.

Towards the evening of May 6, 1865, when we were encamped about a mile north of Macon, Ga., I received orders to report to division headquarters. I mounted my horse and rode over, there finding Gen. John T. Croxton in command, in the absence of General McCook. The general informed me that it was reported that Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, was in South Carolina, making his way south into Georgia; that a portion of his cabinet were with him, and that they were accompanied by 600 or 700 men; that I had been selected to command a detachment of 150 men from the First Wisconsin Cavalry, to endeavor to cut him off, and capture him if possible. I inquired if he thought 150 men a sufficient number to take on the expedition. He replied that, in the opinion of General Wilson, it was. He explained that the escort of Davis was greatly demoralized, and many were leaving him; that they would

[1] The cavalry corps was composed of three divisions of veteran cavalry and three batteries of artillery — total, about 15,000 men. The corps started in at the northwest corner of Alabama, March 22, 1865, and finished up with the capture of Macon, Ga., April 20.

be poorly armed, and it was doubtful if they would fight at all — but if they should fight, he would risk our being able to take care of them.[1] He said that the country through which our route lay was very poor, and that it would be difficult to subsist a large party, and that we must start immediately and not wait for rations — adding, as I left him, that if there was a fight, and Jefferson Davis should get hurt, General Wilson would not feel very bad over it.

I then returned to the camp of my regiment and soon had a detail of 150 men selected, all well armed and mounted. We proceeded through Macon, and crossed the bridge over the Ochmulgee river, and then took a line of march towards Savannah. General Croxton had furnished me with a large map of Georgia, so that I was able to shape my course correctly.

Several regiments were sent off in different directions to intercept Davis, after we had started.

During the night we came to a plantation where there was forage, so we halted and fed our horses. Up to this time, the men had no idea as to where we were going, or for what purpose we had been ordered out; but when ready to mount our horses, I made known the object of our expedition. I frankly told them that if we encountered Davis and his escort, they would greatly outnumber us; that they were probably the pick of the Confederate army, and that they would fight desperately — it would be a battle to the death. I added that Jefferson Davis must not be allowed to escape in any event; but as we had never been whipped,

[1] In General Wilson's official report, made to the war department, in regard to the capture of Davis, he says: "Upon receiving notice that Mr. Davis was making his way into Georgia, I ordered the general commanding the 1st division, to detail one hundred and fifty men from his best regiment, commanded by his best officer, to go in pursuit of Davis, and in obedience to the order, Gen. Croxton sent Col. Harnden with a detachment from the 1st Wisconsin Cavalry." It will be observed that 150 men of the Wisconsin regiment were sent out to do the same work and to meet the same risks for which whole regiments were in other cases thought to be necessary; and how well they acquitted themselves of the great responsibility, will be shown by the results they accomplished.

I had no fear of being whipped now. All of which was greeted with cheers.

We continued our march all night, and through the next day (May 7) until near evening, when we arrived at Dublin, a considerable town situated on the west bank of the Oconee River. I had sent out scouts at intervals to endeavor to get information in regard to parties who were continually crossing our road, to ascertain if some of these might not be the Davis party; but they always proved to be from Johnston's army, who, having surrendered a short time before to Sherman, were going home on parole. These diversions caused our march to be somewhat delayed. Upon arriving at Dublin, I noticed that the people were considerably excited at our presence; but I caused it be given out that we were establishing courier posts between Macon and Savannah.

We bivouacked on a flat between the town and the river. I had several invitations from gentlemen to take up my quarters at their houses, and for some reason they appeared to be quite anxious I should do so. All of which surprised me, as I had never before been the recipient of such attentions. By some means I got an inkling that a party with wagons had passed through the town that day, though to my questions as to who they were, I got only evasive answers; but I finally concluded it was some sutler from Johnston's army. The town was full of Confederate officers in uniform, and as they stood in groups by themselves, talking, I thought their looks boded no good to us. Politely declining all invitations, I made my bivouac with the command. Being weary with thirty-six hours of duty, twenty-four of which had been spent in the saddle, we threw ourselves upon the ground to sleep.

For several months I had been served by an old colored man, whom we called "Bill." He had been a slave, and owned by a staff officer of Gen. Braxton Bragg, of the Confederate army. He had often waited upon Bragg, as well as his master; but when the rebels were hustled out of Tennessee by Rosecrans, in 1863, Bill got left behind, and

falling in with us, I employed him. He was as homely as a hedge-hog, and a perfect tyrant over other darkies, but to me he was as true as steel, and very intelligent. He happened to be with us on this expedition.

I had scarcely lain down to sleep, when Bill came and touched me. "Colonel! Colonel!" he said, "wake up, I have found a colored man who will tell you something!" "Well, what is it?" I asked. It was as dark as pitch, but I could see the whites of their eyes, and I knew they had some important information to give. The stranger said that Jefferson Davis had been in town that day. I said, "How do you know it was Jeff Davis? What makes you think so?" "Well," he said, "all the gentlemen called him 'President Davis,' and he had his wife with him, and she was called Mrs. Davis." He said they had come over the river on a ferry. They had a number of nice wagons with them, and some fine saddle horses led behind the wagon in which President Davis and his wife rode.

He further said that they were going to dine with Judge Rose (one of the gentlemen who had been so persistent in urging me to spend the night at his house), but before they could get the dinner ready, they heard something that made the party leave in a hurry, going south on the river road. There was another large party, he said, that did not come over the river. I questioned him closely, and his answers appeared straight, but I was fearful of a trick to send me off on some side track. I said to Bill, "Do you think he is telling me the truth, and that I ought to believe him?" "Sartin shoor, Kurnel, you kin b'lieve him, he's tellin' ye God's troof!"

It will be seen that if Bill had not been with me, we would have known nothing of Davis having crossed our track; we should have gone the next morning toward Savannah, and Davis would in all probability have escaped capture, and got away into Cuba, in company with Judah T. Benjamin and others, or across the Mississippi to Kirby Smith.

To get a little more information, I called up a couple of

men, and going down to the ferry interviewed the ferryman as to who he had brought over the river that day, but I could get nothing out of him. He was either too stupid, ignorant, or obstinate to give us any information of importance. I have always been sorry that we did not throw the old scamp into the river, as my sergeant wanted me to.

As soon as we got back to the bivouac, I called up the men to saddle for a march. Lieutenant Hewitt, with thirty men, had been left back at some cross-roads and had not yet come up; so, detailing Lieutenant Lane, with forty-five men, to remain at Dublin and scout from there up and down the river, I, with the rest (seventy-five men), started south in the direction the Davis party was reported to have taken.

It was very dark, and the roads in the pine woods were only trails. We soon became confused, and after wandering around for some time, found ourselves coming into Dublin again. Picking our road once more, and daylight coming (May 8), we struck out on the river road at a rapid gait. Five miles out, we came to Turkey creek, where we found the bridge torn up. While this was being repaired, I strolled up to a log house near by, and questioned the woman whom I found there, in regard to the party who had crossed the evening before. She said a large party had passed, but she did not know who they were. Two of the gentlemen had been in her house and drunk some milk, and she showed me a little scrap of paper which she said they had dropped. I saw it was a piece of a Richmond newspaper, of recent date.

A bright little girl standing by, said she had heard one gentleman call the other "Colonel Harrison," and the other was addressed as "Mr. President." Upon my inquiring as to how they were dressed, she said they were "almost as handsomely dressed as I was, but their coats were not alike." Pointing to my shoulder straps, I enquired if they had such things on their coats; she replied no, but one of them had stars on his collar and gold on his sleeves, while the other had plain clothes. The child's description con-

vinced me that one was an officer of high rank, and the other Jefferson Davis. So convinced was I that we were at last really on the track of Davis, that I wrote a dispatch and started a courier with it to General Wilson; but the man was captured by some Confederates, taken into the woods, robbed of his horse and equipments, and left to make his way to Macon on foot — which he did, but not until after my return there.

The bridge being repaired, we again pushed on through the pine woods. The wagon tracks could now be plainly seen, but it soon commenced to rain very hard, and the tracks we had followed were now obliterated. We were in the great pine woods of the South, the soil nothing but white sand, scarcely an inhabitant to be found, and soon we lost all track of the party ahead; but still we pushed blindly on.

I sent parties circling around to find the road, but they were unsuccessful. However, they found a horseman, and brought him to me. In reply to my questions, he said he knew nothing of any party, that he was only a poor citizen hunting some lost sheep. I noticed that he was riding a fine horse. I told him that I would take his horse, and he could hunt his sheep on foot. At this he began to plead earnestly. I told him to quit lying, to tell me where the wagons were that had been somewhere near there the evening before, and I would let him go with his horse.

He then confessed he did know where the party had camped over night, but it was eleven miles away and in another direction entirely from that in which we were headed. "Guide us there," I said, "and you shall have your horse; otherwise you go home on foot." He took us in a westerly direction, to where the Davis party had been in camp, but they were gone.

According to promise, I dismissed the guide and he left in a hurry. We found here a poor plantation and a little forage, which we appropriated from the owner. I inquired where the wagon party had gone; he did not know, though

he thought they had crossed Gum swamp, but the rains had so raised the water that it would be difficult for us to get through.

"Get your horse," I said, "and guide us through to the other side, and we will go; otherwise we shall stay and eat you out of house and home." He then quickly mounted, and led the way through the swamp, where the water for miles was up to the saddles.

Dismissing this guide, we pushed on through the dense woods, over a fairly-plain track, until darkness compelled us to halt for the night, during which there came up a terrible storm of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning. As if to add to our discomfort, several great trees came down with a crash in our vicinity, but our weariness was such that we were disturbed but for a moment.

May 9, as soon as it was light enough to see, we pushed on in a southeast direction, until we struck the Ochmulgee, the same river we had before crossed at Macon. Continuing down this stream some distance, we came to a ferry. In our haste to get over, the boat was damaged so that only a half load of horses could be taken over at a time. This delayed us a couple of hours, when we pushed on a few miles to a little town called Abbeville.

By inquiring we learned that a party with wagons had passed through the town during the night, and that they had gone towards Irwinsville. Halting to feed our horses, we started on the road thither, but just as we were moving out we saw four soldiers in United States uniform, coming down the road from the north. They informed me that they belonged to the Fourth Michigan Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Benjamin D. Pritchard commanding, and that the regiment was near at hand.

Sending on our detachment under Lieutenant George O. Clinton, I rode, accompanied by my orderly,—James Aplin,—to meet Colonel Pritchard. After introducing myself, I inquired if he had any news of Davis. He said he had not, but that he had been ordered with his regiment to Abbeville, to patrol the river and prevent Davis from

crossing. He had left Macon since I had, but up to that time had heard nothing of the fugitive. As his errand was the same as mine, I thought it my duty to give him all the information in my possession, in regard to the movements of the latter.

He inquired if I needed any more men; I said I did not, but asked if he could spare some rations, as our party had next to nothing to eat. He said they had marched suddenly, and had nothing. Bidding him good-bye, my orderly and I left, and pushing on overtook our party. We shortly came to the place where the Davis party had lunched. They had left so recently, that their fires were still burning.

We continued to march on until dark, when, coming to a swale where there was water and a little grass, we halted to rest and graze our horses. All we had for rations was a trifle of damaged corn meal. We lay down to rest for a time, but before the break of day (May 10) were again in the saddle.

At this time I felt confident that we were in close proximity to the Davis party, and had only halted so as not to come upon them in the night. I expected that the fugitives would camp on the other side of the river, ahead of us, and I reasoned that if we attempted to cross the ford in the dark, Davis would take the alarm and escape.

Putting forward an advance guard of a sergeant (George Hussey) and six men, with instructions to keep a little ahead, and maintain a sharp lookout, we moved on. We had made but a mile or so, when our advance guard were suddenly fired upon, by what I judged to be twenty or thirty muskets. Galloping forward at the head of ten men, I met the sergeant and his party retreating, with several of his men wounded. He said they had run into the enemy's pickets and had been fired upon. I directed the sergeant to follow, and then dashed on, when we were met with another volley, so close that the fire came right in our faces and the bullets rattled like hail on the trees. I could just see the forms of our assailants, on account of the darkness.

Seeing that they were in considerable force, and determined to stand their ground, I got my men into line, and dismounting a part, we advanced on the enemy. They gave us a third volley, when we opened fire on them, and they retreated into a swamp.

It was now getting light. At this time, one of our party called my attention to about a hundred mounted men who were coming down on our flank. I cried, "Never mind, boys, we'll whip them yet!" Directing Sergeant Hoor, with ten men of Company A, to pursue the party who had fired on us first and retreated, and not to let them rally, I next turned my attention to the new comers, who were between us and the light.

Forming a line facing them, we opened upon our assailants with our repeating rifles (Spencer carbines). They were soon thrown into confusion. I had left part of my men mounted, under Lieutenant Clinton; seeing that the enemy were in disorder, I ordered Clinton to prepare for a sabre charge. Two of the men hearing me, and understanding I had ordered the charge, drew their sabres, put spurs to their horses, and dashed at the supposed enemy. I called them back, being not quite ready, as I wanted to give our footmen time to replenish their magazines. Just as I was about to give the final order to charge, Sergeant Hoor came running up and said we were fighting Union men; that he had captured one of them, and thus ascertained the fact.

At hearing this, I rode in front of our line and shouted "Stop firing!" which soon ceased on both sides. Then going forward, the first man I met was Colonel Pritchard. So surprised was I, that for some time I could not realize that it was he; but as soon as I recognized him, I asked him how it was that he was there fighting us? He explained, that after parting with me the day before, at Abbeville, twenty-five miles distant, and ascertaining from me that Davis had already got across the river, and finding that there was another road to Irwinsville, he had selected 150 of his best men, well mounted, and by marching all night had arrived at Irwinsville before daylight.

Hearing that a party with wagons was camped a short distance from the town, he had marched out toward it, guided by a negro. He had sent twenty-five men around to the back of the camp, and it was these men who, mistaking us for enemies, had fired upon us so recklessly, with such unfortunate results. He said some of his men had just taken possession of the camp, which was only about fifty yards away. I inquired if Davis had been captured; he answered that he did not know who had been captured, as he had not been to the camp himself.

In this unfortunate affair, two of the Michigan men were killed, and one officer and several men wounded. Of the Wisconsin men, three were wounded, but none killed. We lost a number of horses. I attribute our slight loss to the darkness, and to the fact that as we were on lower ground than our opponents, they overshot us.

Colonel Pritchard and I rode together into the Davis camp, which was just across a little swale, only a few rods from where our skirmish took place. The first person we saw there was John H. Reagan, the postmaster-general of the Confederacy, lately United States senator from Texas, who said to me, "Well, you have taken the old gentlemen at last!"

"Who do you mean?"

"I mean President Davis."

"Please point him out."

"There he stands," said Reagan, pointing to a tall, elderly, and rather dignified-looking gentleman, standing a short distance away.

We rode up, dismounted, and saluted, and I asked if this was Mr. Davis? "Yes," he replied, "I am President Davis." At this the soldiers set up a shout that "Jeff" Davis was captured.

Up to this time none of the men who actually arrested him, knew that he was Davis. One soldier said, "What! that man Jeff Davis? That's the old fellow who, when I stopped him, had his wife's shawl on."

We — that is, Mr. Davis and I — were the center of a

circle composed of Union soldiers and members of the Davis party. In the background, some of our men set up the familiar army song, "We'll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree!" to the tune of "John Brown's Body," which did not add in the least to Davis's comfort.

In the camp were two tents and eight ambulances, each of the latter drawn by four mules. There were also several fine saddle horses. Besides Davis, there were Reagan, Col. Harrison, Mrs. Davis, her sister (Miss Howell), and a number of Confederate officers from Johnston's army, and a lot of teamsters, servants, and others, but no fighting men. It appears that when the fighting began, Davis was sleeping in his tent. Alarmed at the noise, he hastily arose and threw a shawl around him, started out, but meeting a soldier was stopped and ordered back into his tent.[1] He heard the noise of the sharp skirmish, saw the dead and wounded brought in, but knowing that he had no fighting men with him, could not at the time understand what it meant.

I entered into conversation with him, but with little satisfaction to him or me. I would not call him "Mr. President," but always addressed him as "Mr. Davis," which seemed to greatly annoy him, and he retaliated by speaking with the greatest contempt of "Your government."

I said to him that I came very near making his acquaintance back at Dublin, three days before; and if he had fulfilled his engagement to dine with Judge Rose, that I should have done so. Upon this he turned upon me with great hauteur, and said, "Well, sir, I can assure you that if you had made my acquaintance then, this thing would not have happened as it has. I had those with me then, who would not have permitted this indignity to have been put upon me. It was well for you, sir, that you were not in time to see me then." I replied that it would have afforded

[1] It was said at the time, and not disputed, that the soldier's name who cried "Halt!" to Davis, was Munger, a corporal in the Fourth Michigan Cavalry, but he did not then know it was Davis.

me pleasure to have met his friends and tried the question with them.

Every few moments he would turn away from me, but he would soon come back to the tilt again. He wanted to know if my government authorized me to harass women and children through the country, in the manner I was doing. I replied no, not women and children, but I was sent after him. Then his wrath arose again, and he poured out a torrent of abuse against my government, which was treating him with such indignity.

While conversing with him, I saw a cask of brandy pitched out of an ambulance; the head was soon knocked in, and the soldiers were running thither from all parts, with cups and canteens. I called Colonel Pritchard's attention to it, and said it ought to be stopped, as there might soon be trouble over it. The colonel went over and tried to stop it, but with poor success, I suspect, as the condition of the soldiers soon showed.

Mr. Davis, seeing the way things were being thrown out of the wagons, turned to me and inquired which of us was the ranking officer. As we were both lieutenant-colonels, and rank depended upon the dates of our respective commissions, I replied that I did not know. He meant to inquire which of us was in command, but as he had been insolent, I did not propose to explain to him that we were two separate commands just come together. He then turned to some Confederate officers, and said that things had come to a pretty state of affairs when United States soldiers did not know who their commanding officer was; and that it was no wonder that the privates were plunderers and robbers. After a little more talk, his wrath, which had for some time been rising, got completely the better of him; then he turned his back upon me, for the last time.

In speaking to his wife he blamed her for the capture, for he said that if he had acted on his own judgment he would have been with the others of his party, and this thing would not have happened as it had. It appeared that

she had persuaded him to accompany her a little farther than he had at first intended. Mrs. Davis took him by the arm, and tried to pacify him. She told us to never mind him, that he was not worth minding. She also said, as she was leading him away, that she hoped we would not irritate the president, for some one might get hurt.

After making all allowances for the humiliating position in which Davis found himself at that time, I came to the conclusion that he was a greatly overrated man. His manner, and all that he said, his blaming his wife, and other circumstances, all went to show that he had no real nobility about him. As to the story which became widely prevalent at the time, that Davis had on a hoop-skirt, and was disguised as a woman, I know but very little of it; but think it grew out of the remark of the soldier, that, when he stopped him, he had his wife's shawl on.[1]

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[1] When I saw him, he wore a common slouched hat, fine boots, no spurs, coat and trousers of light-blue English broadcloth; taking all circumstances into consideration, he was neatly dressed.

When we got back to Macon, General Wilson sent for me and made me tell him all about my pursuit, and the incidents of the capture of Davis. The general insisted upon every particular — as to how he appeared, what he said, how he was dressed, etc. After narrating all, I told him I heard the soldier who halted him say that, when Davis came out of his tent, he had his wife's shawl on. This remark of mine was telegraphed north, and when it came back it had blossomed out into hoop-skirts, petticoats, hoods, and other articles of female apparel. I verily believe that this was all there was to the female apparel story.— H. H.

In *Century Mag.*, xvii, pp. 586-596, General Wilson and William P. Stedman (the latter of the Michigan regiment) both assert the truth of the female-disguise story. Stedman, who writes as an eye-witness, thus minutely describes (p. 595) Mr. Davis's appearance: "Out came a tall person with a lady's waterproof overdress on and a small brown shawl on the head, a tin pail on the right arm, and a colored woman leaning on the left arm. This tall person was stooping over as if to appear shorter; I at once concluded that it must be Davis in disguise. * * * A man by the name of Andrew Bee, a Swede, who was cook for Colonel Pritchard, came up on the run, and grabbed both hands into the front of the dress that Davis had on, jerked it open, and said to him, 'Come out of this, you old devil!' Davis at this attack straightened up and showed anger. At the same time he put his hand to his back under his dress. I thought he was after a re-

After resting for a short time, caring for the wounded and burying the dead, we all began our return march to Macon, where we arrived the day after, May 12. I first made a verbal report to General Wilson, and received from him his hearty approval of all we had done. We then heard for the first time, that a reward of $100,000 had been offered for the capture of Davis.

The war then being over, Pritchard and I were soon mustered out of service,[1] and no military court of inquiry was ever held to determine the responsibility of the collision which resulted so disastrously to several Union soldiers; but General Wilson says, in his official report, that "Col. Harnden was in no way responsible, as he had no means of knowing that the parties in his front were other than enemies."[2]

It appears that up to their arrival at Dublin, Mr. Davis was accompanied by his cabinet officers and a considerable escort of Texans; but there they separated, the main part going down the east side of the Oconee River, while the Davis party crossed to the west side and were headed for Mississippi, the home of Mrs. Davis. Davis only intended to keep her company for a day or two longer, then leave

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volver, and covered him with my carbine, and cocked it. As I did so Mrs. Davis, who stood at the tent door, cried out to me not to shoot. She came running to her husband and threw herself on him in front of the gun. She said that he was not armed, for she had caused him to leave his arms in the tent before he came out. Then Davis threw the dress and shawl to the ground and started for the tent."

Several other details in Stedman's narrative differ materially from those given in General Harnden's account. Colonel Pritchard also gave currency to the story of the disguise, his account being cited and adopted in General Wilson's article, p. 592.—Ed.

[1] The First Wisconsin Cavalry was mustered out at Edgefield, Tenn., July 19, 1865.

[2] Who was to blame for the collision? Perhaps that is not for me to say, but General Wilson and Colonel La Grange said that I was not. The committee of congress exonerated me. Some attempt was made to place blame on Sergt. George Hussey, who commanded my advance guard, but I exonerated him from any blame, and certify that he acted as a brave and experienced soldier should act, when challenged by an enemy in the dark.

her and join the rest of his cabinet on their way to Florida. The led horses were intended for that part of the journey.

What would have happened in case we had met Davis at Dublin, is only problematical. The Wisconsin troops were veterans, selected from one of the best regiments in the service, all well-armed, mounted, and disciplined; while the Confederates, although in greatly superior numbers, and brave and desperate fighters, were disorganized and discouraged. But that the meeting did not take place, was, in my opinion, well for Davis and his escort — for in the language of Mrs. Davis, "some one would have got hurt."

I was kept on duty with the First Wisconsin Cavalry down in Georgia, until the following July, when we were marched to Edgefield, Tenn., and mustered out of service. In the meantime, Colonel Pritchard had an opportunity to visit Washington and tell his story, and the consequence was that the whole $100,000 reward was awarded to the Fourth Michigan Cavalry.

For some unaccountable reason, my official report was delayed in reaching Washington, and for a time I made no claim to any share in the reward, supposing that Davis would be tried and executed, and in that case I would not have taken what might be considered blood money; but when it became certain that he was not to be punished,[1] I went to Washington and laid before congress a claim on behalf of the First Wisconsin Cavalry, to a share of the money.

A congressional committee was appointed, of which Mr. Washburn of Massachusetts was chairman, to investigate the whole matter. After due consideration, this committee unanimously reported that General Wilson, Colonel Pritchard, Captain Yeoman,[2] and myself should receive $3,000

[1] After Davis was brought to Macon, he was sent under guard by the way of Savannah to Old Point, Va., where he was kept a prisoner for several months, being finally released on bail.

[2] Yeoman was captain in an Ohio regiment, who somewhere in the Carolinas fell in with the Davis party, and passing himself off for a Confederate,

each, and that the balance should be divided among those who were actually present and took part in the capture, according to rank and pay.[1] The members of each regiment were treated alike. I was exonerated from all blame for the collision.[2] When the bill, as reported, came before the house, every Republican, except the five members from Michigan, voted for it.

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traveled with them for several days. He it was, who contrived to get the dispatch to General Wilson, at Macon, which caused him to send a number of regiments in different directions to try to head Davis off, with the result of his capture.

[1] It has been stated that Pennsylvania and Illinois troops were present. This is not so; there were none but the First Wisconsin and the Fourth Michigan cavalry regiments.

[2] Endorsement of Gen. O. H. La Grange, made upon the back of Colonel Harnden's report to General Croxton, of the capture of Jefferson Davis, dated Macon, Ga., April 13, 1865:

"Head Quarters, Second Brigade, First Cavalry Division, M. D. M., Macon, Ga., May 14th, 1865.

"Respectfully forwarded.

"From this report it appears that Lieutenant Colonel Harnden faithfully discharged his duty, and no blame can attach to him in relation to the unfortunate collision between his detachment and Colonel Pritchard's, which he had every reason to believe remained at Abbeville.

"It is, however, a source of painful regret, that the satisfaction experienced in this consummation is clouded by the knowledge that an act having every appearance of unsoldierly selfishness, in appropriating by deception the fruits of another's labors, and thus attaining unearned success, resulted in unnecessary bloodshed, and a sacrifice of lives, for which no atonement can be made. What may have been intended merely as an act of bad faith towards a fellow soldier, resulted in a crime; and for this closing scene of the rebellion, inglorious in itself, but historic in circumstance, it is difficult to repress a wish that accident had not afforded the Government a representative above suspicion.

(signed)

"O. H. La Grange,

Colonel Commanding."

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